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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 1, January 1985

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# USSR REPORT

## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 1, January 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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## ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SHOULD BE EFFICIENT AND RATIONAL

AU250501 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84)  
pp 3-11

[Text] The country has embarked upon the final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. This year is unusual in many ways. It coincides with a period of active preparation by the party and the people for the next 27th CPSU Congress. This year sees the 115th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth and the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. All this gives special political meaning to the work that awaits us this year. "An inalienable component part of preparation for the congress," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "is the drawing up of plans for the 12th Five-Year Plan period and beyond, plans which should embody and concretize the party's economic strategy up until the end of the century. The chief aim of these plans is clear. It consists of raising the people's well-being to a qualitatively new level and considerably improving the material and spiritual standard of living of our people while relying on the increasingly weighty results of the Soviet people's labor."

The last 4 years have introduced much that is new into our lives and had a salutary effect upon the development of the socialist economy, science and culture. The Soviet country has taken another step forward in its grandiose creative work to strengthen and develop the material-technical base of developed socialism.

The growth rates of labor productivity in 1983--the main indicator of the economy's efficiency--exceeded the average annual indexes for the last five-year-plan and for the first 2 years of the current five-year plan. For the first time, the commissioning of basic production funds outstripped the growth of capital investments. The trend toward reducing the material-intensiveness of social production has been noted.

Despite the fact that, for a number of reasons, growth rates in 1981-82 were somewhat lower than planned, over the following years the economy began to develop more dynamically due to the effective measures worked out by the party which were aimed at overcoming negative trends. The average annual growth of industrial production in 1983-84 amounted to 32 billion rubles, which is one and a half times greater than that of the first 2 years of the five-year plan period. During the last 4 years, dozens of new nuclear, thermal electric

power and hydroelectric power stations have been put in operation. The Baykal-Amur Railway began operating a year earlier than planned. During the 1981-83 period, a total of 326.7 million square meters of housing were completed and approximately 30 million people improved their living conditions. The results for last year were also satisfactory.

The Food Program is being implemented. Rural areas are gaining access to more and more contemporary equipment and mineral fertilizers. The gross agricultural product is increasing, as well as purchases of livestock products, which has a salutary effect on the work of the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex and on the process of supplying the population with meat and milk products.

The country has made significant progress in developing the entire national economy, further improving the material and cultural standard of living of the people and strengthening its defense capabilities.

"As a result of the whole of our preceding development," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized in his article "To the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism," "and in the course of the vast amount of creative work performed by the party and the people for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, we have reached the stage where we can and we must MOVE FORWARD WHILE ORIENTING OURSELVES TOWARD THE HIGHEST AND MOST EXACTING IDEAS ON SOCIALISM THAT HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED BY SCIENTIFIC THEORY. Herein lies the essence of the profound qualitative changes which have matured in all spheres of the life of our society."

Completing the intensification of the economy on the basis of appreciably speeding up scientific-technical progress and comprehensively perfecting and improving the forms and methods of socialist economic management is the main guideline in the country's economic development. Only on this basis is it possible to create the most advanced material-technical base which will fulfill the strict criteria of developed socialism and ensure a qualitatively new level of well-being for the Soviet people.

Today we have a first-class industry that has reached advanced world standards. There are hundreds of thousands of qualified specialists at work in plants and factories who are capable of confidently standing at the helm of contemporary production. All this has been possible thanks to nationwide support and the enthusiasm with which the working people have received party measures and actively struggled to put them into practice.

Soviet people are rightly proud of the results of their motherland's economic development and of their successes in their creative activities under the leadership of the communist party. The purposeful work of the party organizations and the soviet and state organs in their leadership of economic construction, as well as the practice of increasing strictness toward the cadres and their responsibility for the state of affairs in the branch, the region and at the enterprises, has also determined the achievement of high economic results.

The party teaches us not to be satisfied with what has been achieved. There must be no place for an attitude of complacency, which has appeared in places, or for a desire to reduce the work pace. Many enterprises and even some branches have not been able to achieve the results which guarantee the steady growth of production; far from all of them have overcome the tendency to lag behind. This particularly concerns fulfilling the plan for variety and quality of products.

Without slowing down the rate of progress, positive changes in the economy must not only be consolidated by common effort--they must also be multiplied.

The new front lines the country will reach by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 12th Five-Year Plan begin at the machine-tool benches and the drilling rigs, at reactors and open-hearth furnaces, in kolkhoz fields and in scientific laboratories. They begin with organization and discipline, with thrift in the expenditure of raw materials, with the struggle for high-quality production at every workplace, with the search for reserves, the extensive utilization of advanced experience and the introduction of new equipment.

Preparing for the next congress, the party calls upon every labor collective to mobilize its efforts in order to strictly fulfill the plan for the final year of the five-year plan period, to channel people's working, creative initiative into practical matters and fully utilize the powerful lever of socialist competition. Relying extensively on initiative from below and creating the necessary economic and organizational conditions for developing the creative vitality of the masses makes it possible to work more efficiently and to make better use of the potentials of the socialist economy. Production results and the successful fulfillment of plans and obligations depend to a considerable extent on how socialist competition is organized. "One must move ahead," wrote Lenin, "one must look ahead, and practical experience in economic construction, experience which has been well thought out and carefully CONSIDERED through the common work and the common effort of all party members, must be brought to the congress" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete and Collected Works], vol 40, p 142).

This experience in economic construction, which has been tested in practice, is embodied in the 12th Five-Year Plan, which is oriented toward increasing the intensification and raising the technical level of production, comprehensively improving the quality of production, more fully utilizing reserves and achieving greater coordination in the work of all branches of the national economy.

In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session held on 15 November 1984, Comrade K. U. Chernenko concentrated attention on those measures that are required for fully and successfully fulfilling the plans for 1985 and for the current five-year plan period, as well as on the necessity to create favorable conditions for the Soviet economy to develop even more dynamically during the next, 12th Five-Year Plan.

"...A common task which must penetrate the work today of all branches and all enterprises," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "is that of managing economic operations better, making more effective use of resources, and working with



greater results. In other words, THE ECONOMY MUST BE EFFICIENTLY RUN. The originality of the moment lies in raising all work to a qualitatively higher level and ensuring the smooth running of all units in the production process." A complex task, and one requiring intensive, creative work by millions, but nevertheless a task that is both realistic and within our capabilities.

In order to fulfill the economic program in the final year of the current five-year plan and over the course of the 12th Five-Year Plan, a series of comprehensive measures aimed at accelerating scientific-technical progress and improving the balanced, proportional nature of branch development will have to be implemented, profound structural changes ensured and both management and the entire economic mechanism perfected.

Placing the economy on an intensive path of development can be achieved only on the basis of accelerating scientific-technical progress, and this progress can be brought about in two ways. The first way is evolutionary, when operative equipment is perfected: the power of a motor, the capacity of blast furnaces, and the speed of machining metal all increase. And although this way is of some benefit, usually calculated at a few percent, it does not change the traditional principles of creating new equipment and technology.

The second way is revolutionary, one can say, when a fundamentally new generation of equipment is born and the technology of production changes. In this case the productivity of equipment increases several times over. Thus, the use of powder metallurgy increases labor productivity by making it possible to reduce metal wastage practically to naught. The extensive utilization of this technology, which has been planned by the 26th CPSU Congress, can lead to great qualitative changes in the sphere of production.

An analogous effect can be produced by many other achievements in science and technology--the building of microprocessors, the introduction of automatic manipulators (robots), the use of new materials with prescribed qualities, the process of smelting steel without the use of blast furnaces, and waste-free technology, the development of new methods of producing energy, transporting freight and so forth.

Building and introducing fundamentally new equipment and technology is becoming a decisive factor in the contemporary development of the economy. This is a task of key significance. Fulfilling this task means also resolving the problem of intensifying and increasing the efficiency of the economy. But technological progress cannot develop uniformly in all branches. The necessity arises of concentrating technology and the efforts of science in those sectors of production where maximum economic effect can be achieved in a short period of time--for example, in the processes of processing raw materials and producing fuel, and also in labor-intensive production processes with a high degree of manual work involved. Consequently, the introduction of resource- and labor-saving technology must be a most important aspect of scientific-technical progress in the coming years.

One of the chief factors in intensifying production common to all branches of the national economy is the great production potential that has been created in our country. Intensive growth factors at the contemporary stage presuppose

a totally different view of domestic potential. The economic interests of the collective as a whole and of each of its members require these deep strata of reserves to be placed at the service of the national economy.

It should be directly said: We have many reserves for improving work. We have not yet succeeded in establishing order and ensuring precise rhythm and a high standard of work organization everywhere. Some enterprises do not make full use of their potential and do not fulfill plans and obligations, cases of equipment standing idle are still frequent and the shift system coefficient of equipment is low. New technology and the automation and mechanization of production are sometimes introduced at an insufficiently rapid rate. To draw all these reserves into effect and declare a merciless war on wastage, which reduces the productivity of social labor--this is a most important state task which every worker is bound to fulfill daily in his work place. The initiative of progressive collectives in Moscow, the Ukraine and the Urals--to create an above-plan economy fund at every enterprise in the oblast, the kray and the republic--deserves every support. Every labor collective must set itself the task of working 2 days a year on economized raw and other materials and fuel.

There is still enough time left before the end of the 5-year plan period to eliminate shortcomings and rectify the situation. The party calls upon us to establish order in production with greater energy and persistency, to increase organization, strengthen plan and production discipline and economically expend resources and our national wealth--useful minerals.

There is no shortage in our country of many types of resources. A considerable proportion of the world's reserves of coal, iron ore and many other useful minerals is concentrated in our country. Our industry produces more than 900 million tons of construction materials and fuel. More steel is smelted in the USSR than in any other country, more cement and cotton is produced, and more oil extracted. Nevertheless, these resources must not be utilized without the strictest reckoning and without active concern to economize their usage. Our national economy has ensured this volume of production when we do not so much need to expand production as to renovate it.

Under these conditions the accelerated development of the economy and the balanced nature of plans now can and must be achieved primarily by means of economizing resources and putting them to effective use, rather than by increasing the volume of production as earlier.

A major reserve of production efficiency lies in increasing the degree of useful mineral extraction, reducing their wastage in extraction process, transportation and storage and comprehensively and thoroughly processing raw materials. The efficient utilization of raw materials and fuel can yield greater effect than investing means in increasing their extraction.

Now, the first principle of skillful economic management lies not in obtaining more resources, but in putting them to better use. This, one can say, is the key link in the strategy of economic search. Enthusiasm and thrift are increasingly becoming the most important qualitative characteristics of the style of economic operations as they enhance both the standard and the



maturity of these operations. It is precisely the formation of this kind of approach that must be given paramount attention. This is all the more important in view of the fact that a considerable number of economic leaders have still not fully acquired these most valuable qualities of intensive economic operations. Many of them try, through long habit, to balance their plans in ministerial offices, aiming either to amend these plans or to be allotted additional resources. This kind of "initiative," if one may say so, runs counter to the interests of society as a whole.

Today we must have both economic wisdom and the ability to count not only rubles but kopeks too. Economy is becoming a most important factor and an immutable law of our entire economic life. Understanding this is vital.

Now, economizing just 1 percent of material expenditure is equivalent to increasing our national income by approximately 7 billion rubles. And, let us say, in order to produce the same amount of fuel, smelt the same amount of metal, and produce the same amount of energy we would have to expend considerably more resources. Within the structure of prime industrial production costs, the proportion of material expenditure today is approximately 10 times higher than the proportion of expenditure on amortization and 5 times higher than the proportion of expenditure on wages. "I would like to say that the approach to economizing must now become fundamentally different," noted Comrade K. U. Chernenko at a CPSU Central Committee Politburo session. "What has the situation been in the past? Economizing was regarded simply as some kind of supplement to constantly growing and seemingly inexhaustible resources. Today it is precisely the practice of economizing that is becoming the most important source of ensuring production growth."

The aims of socialist competition are changing: Now, not only the question of how much must be done occupies prime place in obligations, but also the value of "how much," cost price, production costs, the prompt fulfillment of contractual obligations, high quality of products, the introduction and mastering of new equipment and the thrifty utilization of every minute of work time, every ton of raw materials, every ruble.

Great attention is devoted to efficiently utilizing labor and increasing its productivity. The vast creative strengths inherent in the very nature of the economy of developed socialism make it possible for us to set ourselves a great task of program significance: to ensure that the country reaches the highest world level of labor productivity. Achieving the highest possible rise in the people's well-being is possible only on the basis of increasing labor productivity. And this task in the period of developed socialism can and must be transferred to the plane of practical fulfillment. All the more so in view of the fact that a drop in the influx of labor resources has been noted in the national economy as a result of the unfavorable demographic situation. This makes accelerating the growth of labor productivity and enhancing its role in social production essential. The situation is taking shape when, for the first time in our country's history, the entire growth of national income in the coming years will virtually have to be ensured by increasing labor productivity. And so it is very important to use every hour of work time and every unit of equipment to the greatest effect.

This is best ensured by the practice of certifying work places, which is carried out in many collectives and is based on the scientific organization of labor: This includes the struggle to more fully utilize production capacities, machines and equipment, and also works to ensure the rational distribution of work places and to balance their quantity with the existence of labor resources.

The CPSU Central Committee recently approved the experiment of the Dnepropetrovsk K. Ye. Voroshilov combine plant which increased the efficiency of utilizing production capacities on the basis of certifying work places and ensuring their rational distribution.

Here certification is carried out simultaneously throughout the whole plant over the course of one week, which makes it possible to obtain an original kind of "X-ray picture" of production as a whole and of each work place individually. Not only the 120 specially trained workers from technical, economic and sociological services participate in this certification, but also the workers themselves. The certification carried out among combine builders is in a certain sense like an annual "fair" of technical ideas. For example, during 1982 alone specialists submitted 4,420 proposals in conjunction with workers, and 629 of these proposals were used in liquidating work places with limited work loads and in eliminating unnecessary equipment.

A complex of engineering measures to reduce work places has been drawn up. Here the main directions have been determined, which envisage introducing progressive equipment and instruments, mechanizing and automating assembly, welding and loading-unloading works, as well as interworkshop transportation of component parts and units and overhauling equipment.

The benefit that the plant has derived from implementing this complex of measures is indisputable. But what has the certification of work places given the workers themselves? Firstly, only those work places at which it is comfortable to work were certified. And, as a result, workers at the enterprise have a healthy attitude and show high productivity with all the resulting material and moral incentives. The working man is far from indifferent as to what mechanism he controls, what machine tools he uses, and in what conditions he fulfills his production tasks. And he is deeply interested in the annual certification of work places. The members of production brigades take a particularly active role in this matter.

Before certification, the coefficient of renovation of basic assets at the plant was diminishing, while the coefficient of deterioration was increasing. This was explained by the fact that, while new, more progressive work places were being created, obsolete ones were being retained. In other words, the balance between their actual existence and the plan requirements for them was being upset. Consequently, the combine plant rejected the definition of such-and-such a number of workers being "conditionally released." It decided on the precise number to release, and a realistic number of work places was thereby ensured. Herein lies the guarantee of constant growth in labor productivity.

In order to bring existing work places to the level required by model projects of the scientific organization of labor and production, the certification committee drew up 206 organizational-technical measures.

As a result of certification, the shift index for equipment rose considerably, returns on funds increased, the utilization of production capacities reached 96 percent and 744 work places and more than 700 superfluous and obsolete machine tools were eliminated. The entire growth of production volumes during the current 5-year plan period has been the result of increasing labor productivity, the average annual growth rates of which amount to more than 8 percent. The quality of production has greatly improved, the standard of production, the rhythm of work and the degree of comfort in working conditions have likewise improved; the microclimate at the enterprise has become more favorable, and the expenditure of energy resources, materials and fuel has been reduced. All members of the collective directly participate in production management and are the masters of their work places.

The CPSU Central Committee has recommended making the certification of work places widespread practice, having emphasized that paramount attention should be devoted in this respect to developing progressive technology, introducing brigade forms of organizing and stimulating labor to the maximum extent, efficiently utilizing manpower and training the cadres and improving their qualifications.

A most important condition in intensifying production is that of perfecting planning and the system of management and extensively introducing brigade forms of work organization and the economic accountability system. Today economic accountability principles are becoming the chief levers in increasing production efficiency and enterprises' profitability and yield and in reducing prime production costs. They are constantly being perfected and enriched through the living practice of socialist construction. The economic accountability system has taken shape not only between individual enterprises, organizations and financial organs--its requirements have also spread to the enterprises' inner subsections--the workshops, brigades, sections and various services.

The enterprises have now been granted new rights and have been freed of petty guardianship from above, and the excessive regulation of their activities is being eliminated. At the F. E. Dzerzhinskiy Machine Construction Plant in Balakovo, for example, production reserves and resources for increasing production efficiency have clearly come to light which earlier failed to be utilized due to various restrictions. Economic incentives have manifested themselves in a new way--they are now becoming an effective instrument in the struggle to increase labor productivity, reduce prime production costs and improve the quality of production.

It has now become possible to enhance the role of economic accountability at the enterprise and to make it really effective, with greater results. Formerly, for example, while striving to increase its "gross output," the plant produced material-intensive, expensive products. Now the situation has changed. The system of economic indexes requires the plant to produce only those products that are really necessary to the country, strictly according to



selection lists, and to work not for the warehouse but for the consumer, with the minimum of expenditure and the maximum economic effect. As a result, the material-intensiveness of products has sharply decreased and the weight of diesel engines has likewise been reduced. But quality has in no way deteriorated. On the contrary, the mechanism's length of service before it requires major overhaul has doubled and its guarantee period has more than doubled for the consumer. The use of more economical machines saves the consumer almost 400,000 tons of fuel.

The economic accountability system is closely bound up with the brigade form of work organization. It is precisely in such brigades that an effective means of increasing production has been developed and the personal interests of the worker have been harmoniously combined with the interests of the collective and society. Here everyone works to his full potential, with concentration, without reserve.

The strength of these brigades lies in their collective interest in the end result and in the development of the work ethic of collectivism. Here, as a rule, all economic indexes are higher, and work organization and production and labor discipline are better. There is less wasting of work time, and cases of equipment standing idle and workers being absent or late are fewer. There is no doubt that the contract will become the main direction in which collective labor will develop and that the future of our socialist production lies with these brigades. The contract system is already employed not only by individual brigades, but also by workshops and, in some cases, even by enterprises and organizations. However, the proportion of economic accountability collectives in industry in 1983 comprised only 14.7 percent of all brigades. In the USSR Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry this index reached approximately 2 percent, in the USSR Ministry of the Food Industry--2.5 percent, and in the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances--3.7 percent.

Life persistently requires more active perfection of management and of the entire economic mechanism. One must be able to think literately in an economic sense, as well as in a contemporary way, and to orient oneself toward efficiency and intensive growth factors. The forms of management must meet contemporary demands. There is no doubt that this will be helped by the economic experiments now in progress. A large-scale experiment is being carried out in five ministries, which is connected with increasing the responsibility of associations and enterprises for the end results of their work. In the course of the experiment in the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry the enterprises have been placed in economic conditions under which they are objectively interested in increasing production output with the minimum expenditure of material and labor resources and primarily means of their own sources of finance and loans.

It is no accident that associations and enterprises in the electrical equipment industry have improved the basic indexes of their activities in comparison to 1983: The level of fulfillment of contractual obligations has risen and the entire growth in production has been on account of an increase in labor productivity. Here reserves and potentials have been sought for achieving a 35 percent growth in production during the 12th Five-Year Plan

Period, which exceeds the USSR State Planning Committee's original plans for this ministry.

Concern for an improvement in the well-being of the working people requires expanded production and an improvement in the quality of consumer goods, and also development in the services sphere. The tasks in this sphere are perfectly clear--to ensure the accelerated development of all branches and sectors of the economy engaged in the production of consumer goods and the provision of services for the population, improve the supply of all consumer goods, particularly goods in great demand and correspondingly expand retail trade turnover.

Preparing for the next 27th CPSU Congress, the Soviet people grasp the experience, tested in practice, of economic construction in all its complexity, while at the same time taking pride in their successes and soberly analyzing mistakes and unutilized potentials in order to make further progress, relying on solid ground and valuable historical experience.

"The history of our country has shown what great, unprecedented labor achievements a people is capable of when it realizes that it is working for its own good and in its own interests," writes Comrade K. U. Chernenko in his article "To the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism." "And it is now particularly important that we strengthen and develop this realization. Why now in particular? Because the intensification of production is simply impossible without an interested, enterprising and creative attitude to the matter on the part of every worker, literally in every work place. And in this respect one cannot simply rely on a general understanding that all work in our country helps to increase social wealth and that it ultimately improves the well-being of the working people. One must thoroughly ensure that any socially useful work is more directly and tangibly comprehended by those who do it as being precisely work itself."

Since the beginning of the five-year plan period the Soviet economy has risen to a new qualitative level and has been enriched with firm experience in perfecting production, planning and management. These 4 years have been a school of economic operations and have given the "green light" to contemporary methods of managing industry.

Today thousands of collectives in various branches are working in a new way. Their living practice, achieved results in struggle to improve the quality of production and increase profitability and return on funds and the growth in labor productivity attest to the vast potentials of the socialist economy. It is important to skillfully utilize these potentials and to uncover reserves and set them in motion. And herein lies the order of the day--to steadily increase the economic efficiency of production.

Great and responsible tasks face the country. By the end of the 1980s we must reach a decisive turning point in the intensification of production, which will make it possible to simultaneously increase the country's economic might, strengthen its defense capabilities and ensure a steady improvement in the well-being of the people. This is why the struggle for efficiency and quality, for growth in labor productivity, and for economy in material

resources is both the responsibility and patriotic duty of every Soviet individual. The task of organizing accurate and purposeful work to put all these plans into practice is now being moved into the foreground. Soviet people regard the tasks of the final year of the five-year plan as a fighting program of concrete actions. There is no doubt that under the leadership of the communist party they will do everything possible to successfully fulfill these tasks and to worthily meet the 27th CPSU Congress.

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#### K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS TO BULGARIAN READERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 12-13

[From K. U. Chernenko's collection of speeches and articles "Narod i Partiya Yediny" [People and Party Are as One], published by Partizdat, the publishing house of the Bulgarian Communist Party]

[Text] It is with great pleasure that I accede to the request of Partizdat to write a brief preface to the collection of my articles and addresses it is publishing.

The main unifying topic of the materials included in the collection is contemporary CPSU policy. It is the policy of the developed socialist stage. We invest great theoretical and practical meaning in this definition of the historical period experienced by our society.

Generally speaking, matters essentially stand as follows. In the period since the victory of the Great October Revolution, our country made great progress in building socialism. The historical accomplishments of the Soviet people in building the new society firmly established the collectivistic foundations of socioeconomic and political or, in a word, all social practices inherent in socialism. This is a type of foundation on which our powerful economy grew, the people's well-being was enhanced, socialist democracy developed extensively, Soviet cultural blossomed and all nations and peoples in the country joined in a state of fraternal unity. It is a question of major and historically unparalleled gains on the way to social progress. Although it rates its achievements properly, our party does not ignore unresolved problems and unsurmounted difficulties. Many such problems, difficulties, shortcomings and omissions remain. Therefore, we must persistently work to make all aspects of our life entirely consistent with the most exacting concepts of socialism.

Currently we are fully developing the work to improve our socialist society. It is precisely this that constitutes the content of our party's activities and the creative toil of the Soviet people today and in the foreseeable future, i.e., throughout the entire historically lengthy period which we define as the developed socialist stage.

The Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is imbued with concern for the preservation and consolidation of peace on earth. In the present difficult and tense international situation, our party is doing everything depending on it to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe and reliably to secure the safety of the USSR and its allies.

Let us hope that this collection will help the Bulgarian readers to become more closely familiar with the programmatic stipulations and specific initiatives of Soviet foreign policy and the comprehensive and difficult problems of perfecting developed socialism and, consequently, enable them better to understand the present life, aspirations and concerns of Soviet people. It will thus also contribute to the further ideological and political unity and strengthening of the friendship between our peoples, which was born centuries ago and which grew and strengthened in the struggle for freedom and socialism.

Hand in hand, together with the other fraternal countries, the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian People's Republic are building the new society. They are actively operating within CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. They are united by close relations of friendship in all fields of social life. The development of their bilateral economic relations is very beneficial to both countries. Their exchange of spiritual values is traditionally rich and fruitful. Nor should we ignore an area of our cooperation, such as the peaceful study of outer space. Through their joint organized and united work in orbit, our cosmonauts have written yet another heroic page in the history of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and brotherhood.

The CPSU values exceptionally highly its steadily strengthening ties with the Bulgarian Communist Party. Their comprehensive development and intensification are the practical manifestation of the great ideas and principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

The Bulgarian people and their communist party, who celebrated the 40th anniversary of their socialist revolution this year, are justifiably proud of their contribution to the common treasury of the international socialist experience. This experience proves that the establishment of the historical new communist system presumes the organic combination of general laws with national characteristics.

An outstanding event took place in Moscow last June: the summit economic conference of CEMA member countries. Its unanimously approved resolutions will contribute to the further socioeconomic development of the fraternal countries and the development of a qualitatively new stage in economic cooperation and socialist integration. They constitute a substantial contribution to strengthening the foundations for peace and peaceful coexistence and for equal and mutually profitable ties among all countries and peoples.

The Soviet people greatly value the active foreign policy line followed by People's Bulgaria. Soviet-Bulgarian friendship has become a major factor in strengthening peace in the Balkans and improving the European political situation. It is an inseparable component of the peaceful course of

cooperation pursued by the socialist states, countering the imperialist policy of the arms race, war preparations and state terrorism and violence.

I wish you, dear Bulgarian comrades and friends, peace, happiness and prosperity and new successes in the great cause of building socialism.

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#### K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS TO AUSTRIAN READERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 13-15

[From K. U. Chernenko's collection of speeches and articles "Narod i Partiya Yediny" [People and Party Are as One], published by the Austrian publishing house Edition Retzer]

[Text] Dear readers!

Allow me, above all, to express my gratitude to Edition Retzer, which is publishing this collection of my articles and addresses for the benefit of the Austrian readers.

I remember hospitable Austria of June 1979. At that time, a Soviet-American summit meeting was being held in your country's capital, which I had the opportunity to attend. As we know, it ended with the conclusion of the Treaty on Limiting Strategic Offensive Armaments, which became part of SALT II. We believed that the Vienna meeting marked a major step forward in strengthening universal security and improving Soviet-American relations and the political climate the world over. This was expected by all nations. However, it was not fated to occur. Politicians were found in Washington, who managed to derail the treaty initialed by the heads of the two countries, and, subsequently, broke other important talks which were gathering speed or had come close to practical results. The international situation worsened.

However, the experience of the 1970s convincingly proved to the peoples of Europe that fruitful cooperation among countries with different social systems is not only possible but necessary. Detente is a natural condition whereas confrontation is a dangerous anomaly, the consequences of which, in terms of the safety of individual countries and the entire continent, are hard to predict under contemporary conditions.

I believe that the relations which have developed between the Soviet Union and Austria are a good example of truly mutually profitable, honest and equal cooperation. They have a past history. In March 1938, when Austria was occupied by Hitlerite Germany, the Soviet Union was the only country which condemned the Anschluss as an act of aggression. The subsequent development of events proved that the USSR was and remains a consistent supporter of Austrian independence.

Let us recall that it was on Soviet initiative that a state treaty which restored independent and democratic Austria and laid the foundations for its permanent neutrality, was signed in 1955. The difficult Austrian problem was resolved on the basis of the policy of peaceful coexistence and in the interests of easing international tension. The 3 decades which have passed since have confirmed the significance of this event which beneficially influenced not only the destinies of the Republic of Austria but the general situation in Europe as well.

The Soviet Union highly values and respects Austria's support of the policy defined in the State Treaty and the Permanent Neutrality Law. In recent years Vienna has become the seat of a number of major international organizations. Unquestionably, there is a historical connection between what happened in Vienna in May 1955 and in Helsinki in August 1975, and between the conclusion of the State Treaty and that of the Final Act of the European Conference. Both events are imbued with the spirit of reciprocal understanding and aspiration for the peaceful and reciprocally profitable cooperation among countries and nations.

Soviet-Austrian relations have become even more comprehensive in recent years. They are based on mutual advantage and full equality. They are the result of the efforts of both countries and their peoples. I am confident that our good neighborly relations and cooperation are also our good joint contribution to building healthy peaceful relations among all countries in Europe.

Everyone needs peace. No nation on earth wants war. History teaches us, however, that one must struggle against war before its flames have spread in country after country. Both the Soviet people and the citizens of Austria have learned this from a most difficult experience. Even 40 years after the victory over fascism the wounds inflicted by the war have still not been healed in the Soviet Union.

The memory of Soviet soldiers who liberated Europe from Nazism is sacredly preserved in many countries. I well remember a monument on Schwarzenbergplatz, one of Vienna's central squares. Fresh flowers had been laid on its pedestal. We highly appreciate devotion to the memory of the dead.

Today, when the world is once again threatened with danger, active efforts to prevent a catastrophe are needed. Our course remains unchanged. We shall not weaken our struggle against the threat of war and for improvements in the international situation. This is the main task facing all of mankind today. We are convinced that no country should stand aside from resolving it. Dear readers, I would like to express the hope that this book will help you better to understand the reasons and objectives of Soviet policy, a policy of peace and cooperation.

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S ADDRESS TO SPANISH READERS

Moscow K. MUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 15-16

[Text] A collection of speeches and articles on problems of Soviet domestic and foreign policy is submitted for your attention.

I would like to hope that this book will help to broaden views on the Soviet Union, its present and its plans for the future. Many of the tasks set by the generation of Soviet people, who made the Great October Revolution in 1917 and founded the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922 were fulfilled a long time ago. Thus, the country has become a powerful industrial state. We have had no unemployment since the start of the 1930s. Every citizen enjoys free access to education and medical care. Real population income is increasing steadily. Socialist democracy is being steadily perfected. A political and social stability exists, which makes the Soviet people confident of the future.

These are great accomplishments of the socialist social system, of which the Soviet people are justifiably proud. The communist party, loyal to V. I. Lenin's behest, is always concerned with our further social progress. This precisely is the meaning of the resolutions of the CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums.

It is clear to any sensible person that in order to ensure the successful development of our society we are interested in the consolidation of universal peace and broadening mutually profitable international cooperation.

It is precisely on the level of peaceful coexistence and mutually profitable cooperation that the Soviet Union considers relations with Spain and their further development. This is a long-term policy codified in the Soviet peace program for the 1980s. Briefly stated, we favor the development of Soviet-Spanish relations in a spirit of love of peace and reciprocal trust, believing that this is consistent with the national interests of our peoples and those of security in Europe and throughout the world. The Soviet people have the warmest feelings for the Spanish people.

Although the Soviet and Spanish peoples live in countries with different political and social systems, this, naturally, cannot and should not be a



barrier between them, particularly in a situation in which we must protect our common civilization from nuclear war.

The Soviet Union does not threaten the security of any Western or Eastern country. It wishes to live in peace with all and is systematically pursuing this line in the international arena.

I must point out that the reasons for the present tension are rooted in the desire of the United States and NATO to change the ratio of forces in the world and to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and, on a broader level, to take their revenge over the forces of social and national liberation.

Among the actions committed by aggressive imperialist forces, American above all, the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Europe is particularly dangerous. The implementation of such plans introduces qualitative changes in the international situation. We are entering a new and possibly most dangerous period in postwar history.

It is legitimate to ask the following: could the threat of nuclear war be lifted? Unhesitatingly, we answer yes, this is possible. However, this requires an honest and sincere aspiration to find mutually acceptable solutions to existing problems, based on reality, equality and identical security. It is important to be fully aware of the fatal consequences of a nuclear war.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that a nuclear tragedy should not take place on earth.

The Soviet Union has pursued and will pursue an active foreign policy aimed at rescuing mankind from the threat of nuclear war and ending the arms race. We firmly state that we shall not abandon this policy which is consistent with the basic interests not only of the Soviet people but the other peoples in the world as well.

The practical and specific suggestions formulated by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact members are essentially a realistic program for rescuing the European peoples and all mankind from the threat of nuclear war and ensuring the continuation of the European process the beginning of which was laid by the Helsinki agreements. The Soviet course is one of ending the endless arms race.

Putting an end to the spectre of a global nuclear conflagration is the most important task in the contemporary policies and social activeness of nations.

I wish all citizens of Spain a life of peace, happiness and prosperity.

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TO THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT 'WORLD PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 17-18

[Address by K. Chernenko]

[Text] I studied carefully the address sent to me of the 4th Congress of the movement of "Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War."

The thoughts it expresses confirm that your activities are filled with humanism, for they are based on concern for the help and life of people. The Hippocratic Oath, which obligates the physicians to protect their patients from anything which could threaten their life, has gained a new dimension in the nuclear century.

In a new study of possible medical and biological consequences of nuclear war, you honestly warn that such a war, should it break out, would become the "final epidemic," the scale of which cannot be exaggerated. It is a question not only of the fate of contemporary civilization but of protecting man as a biological species.

You are right by saying that a nuclear war cannot be squeezed into a "limited" framework. A planet turned into ashes would be the price of the blunders of irresponsible politicians. In one of your congresses you justifiably mentioned the danger of so-called "nuclear illusions," shared by the heads of some countries. In their pursuit of the ghost of military superiority, such leaders are deploying weapons on land and sea and are now intending to do the same in space.

The people in the Soviet Union share your warm wish to stop the race toward the irreparable. We are making systematic efforts to prevent nuclear weapons from ever being used and for guaranteeing the prime human right--the right to life.

The USSR has already pledged not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It calls for the freezing of nuclear arsenals and agreeing on a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests.

Today resolving the problem of space weapons is of prime importance. The militarization of space, unless reliably blocked, will eradicate everything we have been able to achieve so far in the area of limiting armaments, and will urge on the arms race in other directions and drastically intensify the threat of nuclear war.

The Soviet Union is ready for the adoption of even the most radical solutions which would enable us to advance toward a cessation of the arms race, banning and, in the final account, totally eliminating nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union is approaching the forthcoming Soviet-American talks aimed at achieving mutually acceptable agreements on the entire set of problems relative to nuclear and space armaments with the firm resolve of achieving serious changes in lowering the threat of war.

We are prepared to interact honestly and constructively with anyone who truly wishes for the further development of world affairs to climb not the new rungs of the nuclear competition ladder but to follow the path of strengthening peace and security, detente and trust.

In our worrisome world it is of exceptional importance for all countries which bear the terrible and expensive burden of nuclear arsenals to realize their historical responsibility for the fate of mankind and to contribute to specific actions to lowering the threat of an outbreak of nuclear war and to improving the international situation.

The 4th Congress of your movement took place under the slogan of "The Physicians Claim That Nuclear War Can Be Prevented." The optimism of these words is consistent with our belief that the forces of peace can gain the upper hand. A prerequisite for this is the spreading of the antiwar movement in which the physicians hold a reputable position.

I wish the participants in the movement further successes in the implementation of their socially significant healing mission.

Respectfully,

K. Chernenko

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S ANSWER TO THE LETTER OF FRG TRADE UNION LEADER J. LEHLBACH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 18-19

[PRAVDA, 22 December 1984]

[Text] Dear Mr Lehlbach:

Your letter touches upon a very topical subject. As a means of mass destruction, chemical weapons are, along with nuclear weapons, a terrible threat to mankind. Naturally, the broad population strata in the FRG are deeply concerned by the existence of large stocks of American chemical weapons on West German territory which, judging by all available data, will be further increased with the addition of the particularly dangerous binary gases.

This concern, which is clearly expressed in your letter, is the more understandable for the reason that since last December the view held by the Federal Republic has become "unique" in Western Europe. The American Pershing II ballistic missiles and American chemical weapons may be found only on its territory. The dangerous consequences stemming from this situation to the FRG and its neighbors are entirely clear. You should know that the Soviet Union has long called for making chemical weapons illegal and for removing them from the country's arsenals. We are ready to resolve this problem both globally and in parts. One of the initial steps which the USSR and the other socialist countries suggested in January 1984 was agreeing to free Europe from all types of chemical weapons. Unquestionably, such an agreement would contribute to the quicker conclusion of a convention on banning chemical weapons on a global scale, which was and remains the end objective of the Warsaw Pact members.

The Warsaw Pact members are ready at all times to exchange views with NATO countries and other interested European states on relieving Europe from chemical weapons.

However, the NATO countries, including the FRG, blocking a total ban on chemical weapons, are even refusing to discuss suggestions relative to the European continent.

Particularly important under these conditions is the active stance held by all supporters of the soonest possible banning of chemical weapons. It is our common duty to spare no effort to save the earth from this barbaric weapon.

As to the Soviet Union, it will continue to do everything it can to contribute to the creation of zones free of chemical weapons in Europe. It is ready to assume the obligation to respect the status of such zones, including the steps which could be coordinated among interested countries and would actually lead toward said objectives. It is entirely understandable that the status of such zones can be reliably guaranteed only if similar obligations are assumed by the United States and the other countries stationing armed forces within the zones.

I wish you, Mr Lehlback, success in your novel activities for the sake of strengthening peace and European security.

Respectfully,

K. Chernenko

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## ON THE HISTORICAL DESTINY OF THE WORKERS CLASS

AU230701 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84)  
pp 20-34

[Article by B. Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] The ideological battles surrounding the problems of the workers class and the workers movement which began as early as in the first half of the last century have not died down even now. They have acquired increasing significance by forming one of the most important aspects of the keen ideological struggle on an international scale.

The enemies of socialism spare no effort to prove that the workers class and its organizations have supposedly not played that role indicated by the founders of Marxism. They deny the workers class the role of the social force called upon to transform social relations on a reasonable, just, socialist basis. Time and again, the workers class is said to be a "dying" and "vanishing" class, and its organizations, they say, have lost their social functions and consequently also their "right to existence."

However, the real history of the workers class says differently. To counterbalance each and every antiworker falsification it irrefutably proves the greatness of the historical fate of the proletariat. The scientifically authentic and theoretically generalized picture of the development of the international workers class and its struggle, which is traced in all the breadth of its historical scale--from the time of the birth and the first steps of the proletariat, through its great revolutionary battles and achievements to the present day--is this incontrovertible proof. The results of Soviet scientists, which is encapsulated in the eight-volume publication "The International Workers Movement: Problems of History and Theory," will also contribute to fulfilling the task of comprehensively studying the generalizing of the world experience of proletarian struggle.

As early as the 1840s, while paving the way for turning socialism from a utopia into a science, K. Marx and F. Engels formulated a conclusion on the world-historic mission of the proletariat. In those years the proletariat had formed only in a few countries, was comparatively small in numerical terms, and had no mature and conscious class experience. Only the first flashes of militant proletarian actions lit the sky.



The foundation of the international workers organization for preparing for the first revolutionary onslaught on capital was laid by the First International, which was formed by the founders of Marxism. It played an important role in establishing the superiority of the ideas of scientific communism over petty bourgeois socialist teachings, reformist illusions, and pseudorevolutionary cant, and in educating the cadres of the proletarian fighters. Its experience, together with the lessons of the 1871 Paris Commune, laid the foundations for the formation of workers class parties in a number of countries at the end of the 19th century. A weapon was thereby forged with the help of which the proletariat has been able to triumph over the system of exploitation and oppression.

However, the path of the formation of proletarian parties was not straight and smooth. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries the influence of reformism grew stronger within these parties and the fundamentals of Marxist theory began to be subjected to revisionist negation and dogmatic emasculation.

The honor of revolutionary Marxism was saved by the Russian Bolsheviks and V. I. Lenin. The formation of the Bolshevik party, a party of a new type, was a most important stage in the development of the workers movement. Leninism enriched Marxist theory with new conclusions appropriate to the conditions which had changed with the transition of capitalism to the stage of imperialism.

The Bolshevik Party was the first workers party not only to unite the working people for the protection of their interests, but also to lead them to victory, to the seizing of power. The Great October Revolution, which opened up a new era in world history, served as visible confirmation of the correctness of Marxist teaching on the world-historic mission of the workers class. At the same time it led to the decisive demarcation of revolutionary and reformist trends within the workers movement and to the formation of revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist parties in the world.

The 20th century has been the witness of a gigantic speeding up of history. Not even 70 years have passed since the day of the first victorious socialist revolution, and the process of making the transition from capitalism to socialism has spread to almost all continents. It was precisely the first country of victorious socialism that rendered the greatest service in crushing the deadly enemy of the workers class and of the whole of mankind--fascism, which significantly increased the attractive force of socialist ideas. Victorious socialist revolutions in various countries of the world, the formation and consolidation of the world socialist system, new achievements by the workers class and its allies in the struggle against monopolistic capital, the powerful upsurge in the national-liberation movement, the appearance of young, independent states and the change in the correlation of world forces in favor of socialism--such are the accomplishments of the new era, a decisive contribution to which was made by the workers class.

World-historical experience has fully confirmed the conclusions drawn by the founders of scientific socialism pertaining to the leading role of the workers

class and the workers movement in mankind's progressive development. The correctness and vitality of Marxist-Leninist teaching has been proved by the very course of history.

# I

An inalienable feature of the progressive development of human society and of the progress of its productive forces is the growth of the workers class. Whereas in the time of Marx and Engels the proletariat existed only in certain countries in Europe and North America, today there is almost no state in the world where a workers class has not formed and declared itself as such.

Table 1--The Growth of the International Workers Class in the 20th Century  
(in millions)  
(According to calculations by the International Workers Movement  
Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences)

	<u>Beginning of 20th Century</u>	<u>Middle of 20th Century</u>	<u>Beginning of 1980s</u>
Whole world	71	282	6
Including:			
Socialist countries	--	66	202
Developed capitalist countries	61	137	241
Developing countries (former colonial and dependent countries)	10	79	2,177

As one can see from the above table, since the beginning of the 20th century the size of the international workers class has increased many times over, having reached a total of approximately 660 million by the beginning of the 1980. The socialist countries account for almost one-third of the total figure. In the industrially developed capitalist countries the workers class everywhere comprises the majority of the active population. The socioeconomic processes of the contemporary era are decisively connected with the activities of the workers class, its professional skill, energy, organization and political authority and influence. Uniting the broadest strata of the working people, it has colossal sociopolitical potential.

The role of the workers class as a productive force and the motive force of material civilization has grown considerably. One can say without exaggeration that everything that mankind possesses and that it uses in its everyday life--means of production and communication, consumer funds and other material values--is now mainly created by the labor of the workers class. It is precisely the labor of tens, of hundreds of millions of workers that ensures the existence and development of contemporary society. "Of all the instruments of production," wrote Marx, "the most powerful productive force is the revolutionary class itself" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 184). Even 65 years ago, Lenin wrote: "...The proletariat economically

commands the nerve center of the entire economic system of capitalism..." (op. cit., vol 40, p 23).

Table 2--The Growth of the Workers Class in the Main Capitalist Countries  
in the 20th Century (in millions)

(According to calculations by the International Workers Movement  
Institute of the USSR Academy of Science)

	<u>Beginning of 20th Century</u>	<u>Middle of 20th Century</u>	<u>Beginning of 1980s</u>
Capitalist Europe	41	74	102
Including:			
Great Britain	9	18	21
France	5	11	15
FRG	10	14	20
Italy	2	10	14
United States	16	43	86
Japan	2	13	35

Not only numerical growth, but also profound qualitative changes have contributed to the increased role of the workers class as society's main productive force.

In the last century the workers class was engaged almost exclusively in pure physical labor, which in the majority of cases did not require a great deal of training or a high standard of literacy. Contemporary production is impossible without the concentrated utilization of highly skilled manpower, requiring extensive professional and general education. Even in those spheres where physical labor predominates, the worker has now become considerably more educated and professionally more qualified than in the past. The appearance of a multitude of new working professions connected with carrying out primarily intellectual work has not only resulted in the quantitative growth of the workers class, but also in its intellectual development. Having considerably raised the level of its education, mastered new professions, and actively involved itself in the process of the scientific-technical revolution, the contemporary workers class has become a social community uniting workers engaged in both physical and intellectual labor, while retaining its class homogeneity. However, this has not led, as experience has shown, to the "disintegration" of the workers class, of which its enemies dream. The proletarianization of a considerable section of commercial and office employees and engineering-technical workers, despite all the complexities of this process and the contradictory nature of its results, infuses fresh strength in the workers class and broadens its potentials for more effectively struggling for its own interests.

In its attempts to blacken the workers class and set it off against the nonproletarian strata of the working people, the bourgeoisie has for a long time reiterated that this class and the professional organizations it has formed are the bearers of a "destructive policy" supposedly creating

artificial obstacles in the way of technical and economic progress. The legitimate demands of the workers class, which are aimed at ensuring conditions worthy of the individual, are said to be the main cause of the economic shocks which the capitalist social system has periodically suffered from the moment it came into being.

In actual fact, allegations of this kind are called upon to serve as justification for the unremitting pressure on the price of manpower and for the bourgeoisie's practice of appropriating the lion's share of social production. The struggle of the proletariat has never been a factor impeding the development of production. In the final analysis, the long and bitter struggle of the workers class against the bourgeoisie, and also its achievements, have a stimulating effect on social progress, including in the economic sphere. Of course, the striving of employers to renew fixed capital assets has a number of causes, primarily pursuit of maximum profit. However, objectively speaking, the pressure exerted by the workers class, and its might and combat potential, compel capital to make concessions and devote greater attention to the technical modernization and organization of production.

The professional organization of the workers class has significantly increased. It is clear that the level of this organization is not the same everywhere. Its dynamic features also vary. A certain decline in organization has even been observed in some countries and even in some regions in the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, if one compares what was with what is, and evaluates in proper fashion the path trodden by the workers class over the course of more than 100 years, a very impressive picture takes shape. At the beginning of the century a few influential trade unions existed only in some countries of Western Europe and North America. Only an insignificant number of workers were professionally organized. Today powerful international professional associations exist, whose sphere of activities stretches to all continents. Throughout the world as a whole, more than 350 million people are today organized in trade unions.

When the first political organizations of the workers class arose, they were extremely small in terms of size. Their influence extended only to a small section of workers. With the exception of a few countries, primarily Russia, consistently revolutionary trends were in the minority. Today the international communist movement--the most influential political force of the contemporary era--exists, develops and actively influences the whole of social development.

Communist parties are active in 95 countries, and the total number of communists amounts to more than 80 million. During the 1970s alone, in Western Europe the number of communists grew from 2.3 to 3 million, in the nonsocialist countries of Asia, Australia and Oceania--from 630,000 to 1,300,000, in Africa--from 20,000 to 70,000, and in North and South America--from 400,000 to 490,000. Revolutionary-democratic parties and movements in Asian and African countries are increasingly frequently going over to the positions of scientific socialism, which forms the ideological basis of the communist movement.



Whereas a century ago the overwhelming majority of workers did not participate in sociopolitical life, nowadays in all countries of capital, despite strong opposition on the part of ruling circles, the social role of the workers class and its influence on the course of events have immeasurably increased. Thus, by passing through the school of bitter class battles, the contemporary workers class has been objectively prepared for fulfilling its historic function of destroying capitalism and creating a new, socialist society.

What has been said, of course, does not mean that the workers class in the countries of capital does not encounter serious difficulties and problems. Despite its vital achievements, the foundations of the monopolies' domination have still not been shaken in the capitalist countries which are the most developed in an industrial sense. The vast social and political potentials and reserves accumulated over the past years by the workers class remain unutilized. The broad working masses' dissatisfaction with their situation far from always leads to their taking up combat, consistently class positions. The influence of reformist ideas and illusions of the possibility of gradually "improving" capitalism is still great. The working masses' growing disillusionment with bourgeois-parliamentary institutions frequently gives rise to passivity, apathy and a drawing away from politics. A number of workers vote in elections for right-wing, conservative parties. Communists do not always succeed in fully exerting their influence which would help the masses to draw the correct conclusions from their experience and heed the call of history.

While noting this, one should constantly bear in mind that great pressure is brought to bear on the working masses in the countries of capital, including on the workers class, by the prevailing bourgeois ideology, the purposeful actions of the forces of imperialism and the manipulation of the people's consciousness. Day in, day out, the idea of the "eternal and constant" nature of the capitalist system and of "free enterprise" and its "values" is persistently drummed into the working people with the aid of every possible channel of information. Contemporary mass production and the ramified propaganda apparatus at its service provide the monopolies with vast opportunities for developing needs and habits advantageous to the ruling class, and for cultivating bourgeois sociopsychological aims in the mass consciousness.

The present intensification of capitalism's general crisis has set the workers class in the industrially developed capitalist countries extremely serious and, in many ways, new problems. This crisis has demonstrated that state-monopolistic capitalism, contrary to the claims of its apologues, has not only not rid itself of the flaws characteristic of capitalism, but has even exacerbated and multiplied these flaws. The deepening and increasing frequency of cyclical crises, a drop in production growth rates, the extreme instability of the financial system, a reduction in the volumes of foreign trade, the growing state debt, and so forth have become characteristic of the entire zone of industrially developed capitalism in recent years. The situation of the working people has been particularly badly affected by the vast scale of unemployment, which is both ever-present and increasing: An increasing section of the able-bodied population is finding itself either totally or partly squeezed out of social production. The working man is

thereby deprived of the opportunity to exercise his legitimate right--the right to work. In the conditions of the growing crisis, the instability and even the partial reversibility of a number of important achievements of the workers class has become particularly obvious--naturally, in those cases where these achievements have not been backed up by firm positions in the political sphere.

Making use of economic difficulties and the change in the situation on the labor markets disadvantageous to the workers class, since the end of the 1970 capital has begun implementing a policy of "social revanchism," trying to compensate itself for the concessions it was compelled to make earlier. Increased pressure is being brought to bear on the level of real wages, which everywhere is showing the tendency to drop. The conditions for granting social aid are worsening, the working people's achievements in the spheres of public health care, education and so forth are being liquidated step by step, and so the list goes on.

Reactionary and aggressive trends on the part of contemporary capitalism are sharply increasing in the crisis situation. Lenin's principled conclusion that "politically speaking, imperialism is generally an aspiration to violence and to reaction" (op. cit., vol 27, p 388), is thereby confirmed.

Right-wing conservative forces that were brought to power in a number of major capitalist countries by the ruling class increasingly gamble openly on employing "hard" methods for governing society. The trade unions are subjected to victimization. This is attested to by cases such as the breaking up of the U.S. air traffic controllers trade union that "dared" to demand an improvement in working conditions; the adoption of the U.S. Supreme Court of resolutions limiting trade union rights in the conclusion of collective contracts; the real war being waged against trade unions by the Conservative government in Britain; the tightening up of anti-trade union legislation in a number of other countries. The workers' right to strike and the most effective means of struggling for their rights are being cut. Judicial-police repressions against strikers are increasing (the breaking up of pickets, high fines, the sequestration of trade union funds, and so forth).

Reactionaries are also taking action aimed at undermining the political rights and freedoms of the working people. This is reflected in the adoption or preparation of so-called emergency legislation (under the pretext of "struggling against terrorism"), the application of criminal legislation against participants in the antiwar movement, the broadening of the powers of the judicial-police apparatus and the offensive on the rights or organs of local self-government. The practice of the infamous "public employment bans" with the aid of which citizens of left-wing persuasions are discriminated against is becoming more widespread: Such citizens include communists, social democrats, active supporters of protection of the environment (ecologists) and others. The repressive apparatus is growing stronger and is being equipped with the latest technical means.

Having unleashed an offensive against the economic and political achievements of the workers class, the bourgeoisie counts on succeeding in bringing confusion to its ranks and compelling it to reconcile itself to the loss of

its positions. However, these calculations have not been justified. The workers class has risen to struggle for its rights. The temperature of class battles continues to rise. Affecting whole branches in a number of countries, the strike movement is being led with unprecedented persistence. The general, nationwide strikes sound a stern warning to the ruling class.

The inability of the bourgeoisie to resolve the most serious problems now facing society immeasurably increases the responsibility placed by history on the workers class and its organizations, and primarily on its political parties. The task of determining, developing and implementing alternative programs for the economic development of their countries, and of decisively interfering in the mechanism of economic policy, has fallen to the lot of the workers class. This democratic alternative, which has been put forward and is supported by the workers class and its organizations, can prevent capitalism from turning scientific-technical progress and the technological restructuring of industrial production, now taking place in all developed capitalist countries, into a source of innumerable problems for the working masses and into a force destructive to society.

For the contemporary scientific-technical revolution, if completely controlled by capitalism, could devastate flourishing industrial regions, doom a significant section of the population to forced idleness and an aimless existence, and set the different detachments of the working people against one another. And, objectively speaking, only the workers class--in its struggle against capital--can turn scientific-technical development into a factor of social progress.

The workers class in the industrially developed capitalist countries actively influences the resolving of many serious problems facing contemporary society. The threat to democracy, even in its emasculated, limited, bourgeois-parliamentary form, posed by the most reactionary factions of the ruling class makes mass action in defense of democratic freedoms a still more relevant task. The workers class has already recommended itself as the firmest and most consistent defender of the rights and freedoms of all the working people.

Rallying around it all forces opposed to the domination of the monopolies, economic oppression, and political repressions, the workers class offers constructive solutions to many problems troubling mankind today. These include the problem of the environment, the pollution and destruction of which has become a social evil under capitalism, the problem of the exhaustion of energy and other raw material resources, toward which monopolistic top leaders have for many years adopted a thoughtlessly wasteful attitude, the problem of famine and disease in the developing countries and so forth.

The workers class takes the initiative upon itself to resolve all these problems not only because it has been called upon by history to ensure the restructuring of social relations in the world on a new, reasonable and just basis, but also because its struggle has already led to the formation of a bridgehead for further progress, this bridgehead being the world socialist system.



## II

The chief result of the historic path traversed by the workers movement is the accomplishment of socialist revolutions and the transformation of the workers class into a leading force in the construction of socialist and communist society.

Up until 1917 socialism was a dream, a theory, a movement. In Russia on the eve of the 20th century, Lenin and the Bolshevik party set themselves a task--to introduce socialist awareness in the workers movement--and they successfully fulfilled this task. A decisive condition of the victory of the Great October Revolution, which turned socialism into socioeconomic and state-political reality, was thereby ensured. The revolution was not only a brilliant triumph for Marxist-Leninism--it also determined subsequent social development. "Destroying capitalism and its traces, and introducing the foundations of the communist system lie at the heart of the new era in world history which is just beginning," wrote Lenin (op. cit., vol 41, p 425).

The break in the imperialist front on one-sixth of the globe was irrevocable. The very existence of the first socialist power became a most important factor in the further development of the world revolutionary process. The Russian workers class was the first to begin building a society of which generations of thinkers and fighters had dreamed and for which they had struggled, and for which the lives of many proletarian revolutionaries were given. The example set by the Russian proletariat has served as an incentive for many peoples.

After World War II socialist revolutions took place in a number of countries in East and Southeast Europe and in Asia. Then the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere appeared. Today hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America walk the path shown by the Great October Revolution.

Lenin's party made the richest possible contribution to the theory and practice of the international workers movement. Having led the first victorious proletarian revolution, it took great and historic responsibility upon itself. For the first time, theory was called upon to directly participate in forming a new social reality. And both Lenin's creative genius and the theoretical ideas of the Bolshevik Party were equal to this historic task.

Contemporary anticommunists and revisionists have tried and continue to try to belittle the importance of Leninism and to set Lenin off against Marx. They consider Lenin's teaching to be applicable only to Russia and "restrict" the effectiveness of this teaching to the framework of the beginning of the century alone. However, the living history of the revolutionary proletarian, anti-imperialist movement has refuted and continues to refute these claims.

How can Leninist theory and practice have "limited" significance when Lenin's outstanding revelations in the sphere of social development and the revolutionary transformation of society have found confirmation on all continents over the course of the present century?



Lenin did not only draw on the entire wealth of Marx's and Engels's ideas; having creatively developed these ideas, he, like no one before him, showed in practice what a powerful instrument Marxist theory is in recognizing and transforming reality. While growing out of the whole of Marxist tradition, Lenin's ideas had their roots in the world reality of the new historical era and were addressed not only to Russia, but also to the whole of mankind. Lenin provided a thorough and detailed analysis of imperialism and the monopolist stage of capitalism, and he also revealed the specific features and laws of state-monopolistic capitalism. Drawing on the ideas of Marx and creatively applying his method in the new conditions, he revealed ways of developing socialist revolution during the period of imperialism and worked out a strategy and tactics for the revolutionary workers movement, as well as a doctrine on the revolutionary alliances of the proletariat and the role of the party. He was the founder of the contemporary international communist movement.

Lenin's ideas on the considerable differences in the conditions of revolutionary struggle in the West and in the East and the necessity to take these differences carefully into account, his ideas on cooperation and mutual support, on the alliance between the workers class of Soviet Russia and the national movement in the colonies, and on the possibility of a noncapitalist path of development have the greatest significance for the international workers and liberation movement.

Socialist construction has been given great vital strength, and not only in Soviet Russia, by the ideas of Lenin's plan for building socialism, including his concept of the New Economic Policy, Lenin's cooperative plan, his ideas on socialist competition, industrialization and the Cultural Revolution, and registration and control under socialism, and many others. With his brilliant foresight, Lenin determined the prospects of world development many years in advance and provided the international communist and workers movement with vast creative reserves.

It is no accident that new detachments of the workers class and new countries embarking on a revolutionary path turn to Lenin and consider him to be their great teacher. But the importance of Leninism is not exhausted by the contribution made to Marxist teaching by Lenin himself. Lenin set a matchless example of adopting a creative approach to Marxism and utilizing Marxist methodology and the ideological wealth of Marxism for the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding of changing objective reality. Acting in the spirit of Leninism, for many years now Lenin's followers in other countries have successfully developed Marxist-Leninist teaching as applicable to the phenomena and problems of the contemporary era. A great contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist science and to Marxist-Leninist practice has been made by the CPSU, fraternal communist parties in other socialist countries and in the capitalist world and the international communist movements as a whole.

The correctness of Marxism-Leninism has been indisputably proven by the appearance and establishment of the world socialist system. Whereas in Lenin's lifetime only approximately 8 percent of the world's population had

been liberated from the opposition of capital, now almost one-third of the world's population lives in socialist countries.

Socialism has liberated the working people from exploitation and oppression and given them confidence in the future, the possibility of looking to tomorrow without fear. Socialism has guaranteed the right to work, to education, social insurance, free medical service, leisure, accommodation and use of the achievements of culture. An end has been put to the formal-legal interpretation and practice of democracy, characteristic of bourgeois society; socialist democracy is constantly developing and being perfected and the increasingly extensive civic participation in the affairs of society and the state is ensured. There is genuine equality of peoples, nations and races.

The Soviet Union is in the vanguard of socialist construction. Analysis of the level of social maturity reached in Soviet society has shown that the USSR is at the beginning of the stage of developed socialism. The workers class in the USSR is the leading force of society, which is characterized by sociopolitical and ideological unity. The alliance between the workers class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia has grown stronger, as has the friendship between the nations and nationalities of the USSR. The concrete program, drawn up by the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, for perfecting developed socialist society embraces all aspects of life--from productive forces to the ideological sphere. The task also lies in consistently improving all aspects of Soviet social life: creating an economic potential which meets the demands of developed socialism, raising the national economy to a qualitatively new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level, making a decisive achievement in intensifying social production and increasing its efficiency, creating an economic mechanism, which meets the demands of developed socialism, ensuring a qualitatively higher standard of living for Soviet people, perfecting distributive relations and the Soviet political system and developing socialist democracy. There is no doubt that a most important role in the fulfillment of this task will be played by the forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress. Since socialism mainly influences world development by its economic policies and its successes in the socioeconomic sphere, the implementation of this program lays the foundations for further increasing socialism's political authority and influence through the world, increasing its attractive force and ensuring a decisive advantage in the battle for people's minds.

The successes of real socialism and the changes in the world's correlation of class forces connected with these successes are already enabling the working people in nonsocialist countries to make their demands and wage their struggle along lines which were not possible earlier. It is only thanks to this circumstance that the workers and liberation movements of a number of countries have been able to raise the question of new paths of transition to socialism that involve fewer social, material and political costs. It is of the greatest importance for world development that the might of the world socialist system and its international assistance limit the possibilities for exporting counterrevolution. The socialist countries have a salutary effect on the entire complex of international relations.

Thus real socialism appears on the world scene as the representative of the vital interests of the world's workers class.

More and more people in the world understand that it is beyond the power of capitalism to find an answer to the historical challenge of socialism.

### III

The world's workers class cooperates with the revolutionary national liberation movement.

They are allies in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of peoples and for the cause of peace. Their growing solidarity guarantees the further development of the world revolutionary process.

More than a century ago, Marx and Engels pointed out the unity of the fundamental interests of the working people of the metropolitan states and the colonial peoples and the need for workers class solidarity with the fighters for national liberation. Lenin worked out the theoretical foundations of the national liberation movement that developed on a large front in the 20th century and called attention to the decisive importance of the alliance between the workers class of the land of the soviets and the anticolonial revolutions.

Capitalism is incapable of ensuring a solution of the national question. Socialism is doing it. The elimination of exploitation of man by man and the fundamental restructuring of social life as a whole have opened up the road to liquidating national oppression and asserting the equality of peoples, that is, briefly, to realizing those richest possibilities in the sphere of national relations which are created by socialism. The historical successes of the national liberation movement which led to the downfall of the colonial system have been possible only as a result of a weakening of imperialism, as a result of the defeat of fascism in World War II and as a result of the formation and strengthening of the world socialist system.

The example of the socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the most effective forms of economic and political organization that help overcome backwardness, strengthen independence and ensure social progress within the shortest historical period. The development of the state sector and the introduction of planning principles in the economy are taking place in the liberated countries in many respects under the influence of real socialism.

From the very first days of its existence, the Soviet Union has established genuinely equal and fraternal relations with the peoples fighting for their independence. Following the collapse of the colonial system and the rise of scores of new liberated countries, the USSR and the entire socialist community have done a great deal to help selflessly the peoples that have thrown off the yoke of colonialism. The support of socialism for the struggle of the peoples of developing countries against the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism which refused to reconcile themselves to the loss of their former positions has been especially important. The multifaceted, mutually



beneficial cooperation between the socialist states and the liberated countries, their interaction, and their international solidarity are a factor that helps curb the imperialist impulses and contributes to social progress in the entire world. The collective cooperation of liberated countries with the socialist countries in the struggle for a reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic basis of equal rights plays an increasingly great role.

The workers class of capitalist countries has demonstrated and still demonstrates on many occasions its solidarity with the peoples struggling for their independence. The struggle of French workers against the colonial war in Algeria, the widespread campaign in many countries, including the United States, against the sordid adventure of American imperialism in Vietnam and the solidarity of the working people of many countries with the fighting people of Nicaragua are examples of effective internationalism.

#### IV

The world's workers movement has a particularly great responsibility for preserving peace and preventing a nuclear catastrophe. As K. U. Chernenko has noted, "the problems of war and peace as well as all other global problems, do not exist on their own. They are inseparable from the world's social contradictions and from the development of the class struggle."

The founders of scientific communism comprehensively revealed the causal link between the economic and political foundations of the class society and the outbreak of wars, and armed the workers class with an understanding of the ways and means of antiwar struggle. From its very first steps, socialism, having written "Peace" on its banner, opposed to the imperialist policy a different type of international relations based on an essentially new approach to interstate problems. The Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence of states regardless of their social systems is an integral part of this approach.

At the beginning of the 1980, imperialism, including primarily American imperialism, provoked a serious deterioration of the international situation. Trying to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, the United States started a new, extraordinary dangerous spiral of the arms race.

In this difficult and tense situation the communist and workers movement has set the prevention of a new world war and especially nuclear war as its primary task. Reality itself has placed communists, who have always been active fighters against oppression and exploitation, in the forward line of the struggle for the right of man to life. Possessing a deep understanding of the real causes and sources of the danger of war, the communists precisely and clearly determine the goals of the antiwar movement and selflessly struggle for the cause of peace. And in this connection the communists are in no way shutting themselves off from other social and political forces that work for peace and international security. They strive for action unity with the social democratic parties, with the new democratic movements and so forth.



The growing participation of the workers class organizations invests the antiwar movement with a mass character and with organization and effectiveness. This participation is an important condition for ensuring that the plans of the war instigators encounter increasingly weighty counteractions. The leading representatives of the workers movement are tirelessly explaining that the workers class holds in its hands an enormous force and unmatched possibilities for the struggle against the arms race and nuclear war. For nuclear and all other weapons are produced by the hands of workers, the working people. It is the will of capital that is turning the scientific and technological discoveries into the tools of human extermination. Therefore, relying on the force of reason, scientific socialism and humanism, and even on the sense of self-preservation, it is important to explain to the workers class and the working people of the capitalist world the real reasons for the danger of war and the possibilities for preventing war. In the socialist countries, the workers class as well as all people actively work against nuclear war and in defense of peace.

The socialist community is making a decisive contribution to preventing nuclear war. For the first time in world history, the struggle against the danger of war has become the task not only of social forces and not only of the Soviet state but also of an entire group of states. Socialism sees this as its primary duty to mankind. And the awareness of this duty is at the basis of all foreign policy activities of the countries of real socialism. It is of the greatest importance from this viewpoint that the missile and nuclear potential built by the USSR at the cost of great efforts is keeping the American "hawks" from military adventures. The united military might of the Warsaw Pact member-states not only ensures their own security but also provides a reliable support for peace in Europe. At the same time, the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community are sparing no efforts to roll back the arms race, achieve a relaxation of tension and start a disarmament process. The numerous foreign policy initiatives of the socialist community and its demonstrated readiness to seek solutions for the world's complex political problems, wherever this is possible, are oriented specifically to these goals.

Never before has mankind been threatened by such great danger. However, never before has mankind had at its disposal such considerable forces to avert this danger.

## V

The international workers movement has traversed a long road. It was born and it developed under difficult conditions, in the struggle against powerful adversaries holding in their hands the command levers of economy, politics and information. The times have passed when the workers class was merely a suffering and oppressed class and an object of sympathies of thinkers and philanthropists. It has produced generations of heroes and fighters and found strength and dignity in its organization and self-awareness. It achieved victories that have changed the face of the world.

What are the basic lessons of this difficult road?

First and foremost, history has confirmed Marx's foresight regarding the development of the international workers movement as a natural historical process developing in accordance with its organically inherent laws. The attempts to "abolish" the workers movement itself and to proclaim it as well as the historical laws engendered by it as nonexistent have failed. It has turned out to be all the more important to determine precisely the prospects of the social progress that coordinates its march with the march of history.

Hence the second important lesson of development of the workers movement--the invaluable and fundamental significance of the scientific theory, of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching for the formation, education and mobilization of the workers class as a subjective factor of history as well as for solving the tasks arising before it at every stage of its development. Today, just as in the past, it is possible only on the basis of the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory to provide a true comprehensive explanation of the state of the capitalist society, to analyze its worsening crisis and to determine the road of transition to socialism. Neither the numerous bourgeois theories nor the concepts of reformists and revisionists can provide an answer to the poignant problems of the contemporary period, the problems engendered by capitalism. Marxism-Leninism is a theory that is directly tied to the practice of the workers class, and that not only explains the world but also represents a powerful tool for changing it, for its revolutionary transformation. Corresponding not only to the vital interests of the workers class but also the vital interests of all popular masses and of all the oppressed and exploited, Marxism-Leninism is in harmonious accord with the fundamental interests of mankind; and this fact is increasingly strongly demonstrated by the contemporary situation.

Revolutionary theory has been an indispensable component of the development of the workers class at all stages of its history. Thanks to its close links with the class struggle and the practice of transformation of the world, Marxist-Leninist theory has absorbed new experience and new facts and has developed in accordance with the changes taking place in real life. Only this theory has been able to effectively assist the revolutionary movement in solving the new problems arising in connection with the changed social situation. "We do not consider Marx's theory at all," Lenin pointed out, "as something complete and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which the socialists MUST further advance in all directions if they do not want to lag behind life" (op. cit., vol 4, p 184). Having defended the integrity of the theory of scientific communism in constant struggle against revisionism and dogmatism, Marxists-Leninists today continue to develop the revolutionary science on the basis of new facts and new phenomena.

The third lesson provided us by the history of the workers movement is the irreplaceable role of the party as the militant vanguard of the workers class. The teaching of the party, on the principles of its activity and construction, and on its place in the system of organizations of the workers class and of all working people and in the socialist state, has become one of the cornerstones of Marxist-Leninist theory and the formation and strengthening of communist parties in one of the greatest achievements of the workers class.

On more than one occasion during the history of the workers class, the absence or the weakness of the revolutionary parties represented the cause of bitter defeats. The great social revolutions that have marked the 20th century and, first and foremost, the confirmation of socialism as a social system would have been impossible without communist parties. The communist parties have also played an exceptional role in the antifascist and national liberation struggles. The communist parties invest the entire activity of the workers class with a consistent and principled character and arm it with a clear political line both in building and perfecting socialism and in the struggle against capitalist domination, with the prospects of assumption of power by the working people.

Therefore, the periodic attempts to replace the militant organization of revolutionaries, the vanguard party of the workers movement, with a loose association that--even though it may be broader--would essentially hold a tailing position in relation to the masses and the objective historical process, are groundless and harmful. All this can only turn into a loss of positions to the class adversary. Equally harmful also are the attempts to undermine the fundamental principle of organization of the proletarian party, democratic centralism, the loss of which would threaten it with a loss of its image and with its sliding into oblivion and the ways and habits of the right-wing social democracy.

In the meantime, the historical development has already summed up--and this is its fourth lesson--the important results of the struggle between two trends in the international workers movement. Since the moment of the first appearance of these two trends, every new state in the development of the revolutionary process has attested to the insolvency of the reformist ways of transformation of the capitalist system. The indisputable truth has been confirmed that it is only along the paths of class struggle and revolution and on the basis of the laws revealed by scientific socialism that it is possible to arrive at socialism. Nowhere, in no country has the social democracy succeeded in building a socialist society; of course, it has also essentially not aspired to that. Any renunciation of Marxism and of its revolutionary conclusions has constantly led social reformism to retreat before the monopolist capital.

It goes without saying that the social democratic governments have to their credit a number of progressive laws and measures that have facilitated the position of the popular masses. However, the social reformist theory and practice have lagged always and everywhere behind the requirements of the class struggle. The exacerbation of the crisis of capitalism, a serious rise of the level of the mass struggle and the development of new demands of the working people have compelled social democracy to significantly renovate its ideological-political platform and address itself to those real problems that life poses. However, much remains to be done in this respect to overcome the usual defect; that is, the discrepancy between words and deeds.

At the same time, the communist parties are doing everything in their power, in the interests of peace and social progress, to arrange cooperation with the social democratic parties.



Among the most important lessons of the development of the international communist and workers movement is the need for a correct and scientifically substantiated approach to revealing the dialectic of the national and the international in the class struggle and to the principle of proletarian internationalism. The construction of socialism and the revolutionary movement for socialism, developing in each individual country in the nationally specific conditions and forms, are international by their social essence. Deviations from internationalism--such as, for instance, in the period of the collapse of the Second International in 1914--have always resulted in great defeats for the workers class. The communist movement remembers the internationalist legacy of the founders of scientific socialism. The Soviet Communists and the communists of other socialist countries have always demonstrated their immutable solidarity with the struggle of the working people in the countries of the capital. And the international position of class brothers in foreign countries has provided in its turn important support in building and protecting real socialism.

In constantly developing, proletarian internationalism is expanding the spheres of its influence and is being enriched with new substance. In the mid-20th century, a form of international solidarity developed such as socialist internationalism that defines the mutual relations between the sovereign states of the world socialist system. The principles of internationalism are also implemented in the relations between the countries of real socialism and the states of anti-imperialist and socialist orientation.

The participation of increasingly large masses of the most widely varied social strata in the solidarity movements does not abolish the proletarian character of internationalism, but on the contrary only enriches it.

The importance of proletarian internationalism has increased even more under contemporary conditions. This is connected with mankind's entry into a new stage of internationalization of the entire social life, including primarily the economic relations, with the exacerbation of global problems, that is, primarily with the tasks of averting a world thermonuclear catastrophe, and finally with opposing an intensifying international coordination of actions of the class adversary. There is a direct interdependence between the cohesion of the workers class of various countries and the successes or failures of its struggle. And the increased threat of war, the "crusade" launched by U.S. imperialism, the consolidation of the right-wing forces that have unleashed attacks against the rights and interests of the working people and the need for effective solidarity with real socialism and the liberation struggle of the peoples of developing countries--all this dictates the need for the international communist movement to consolidate its ranks on the basis of class and internationalist principles.

Proletarian internationalism is the basis of mutual relations between the Marxist-Leninist parties. Every communist party independently works out its own political line, taking into account the real conditions of its struggle. History has revealed different forms of international cooperation of communists, including the ones in the last 70 years such as the union within the framework of the Third International, the activities of various



information organs and publications of communist and workers parties, international conferences supplemented by regional and bilateral meetings and so forth.

The imperative of the moment such as the need for regular comparisons of views and appraisals and for consultations on common actions is making itself known more and more in the communist movement.

The great activeness of bilateral interparty contacts testifies to this. The periodic meetings of communist parties of large regions, such as Latin America, the Arab countries, northern Europe and others, also attest to this. The success of the work of several large international theoretical conferences shows the striving for international contacts and for their greater effectiveness. The meetings of leading figures of the communist and revolutionary-democratic press and the international meetings devoted to the work of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA have become regular events.

The international workers movement is at an important and responsible stage of its development. It faces grandiose tasks connected with the further development and perfecting of real socialism, with the search for the approach and transition to socialism in the countries that are still oppressed by the exploitative classes and with the solution of mankind's global problems, including first and foremost the problem of preventing a nuclear death of the planet, in the interests of the popular masses. The scientifically enriched and valuable experience of class struggle accumulated by the international workers movement over a long historical period is and will continue to be of immense importance in the struggle to solve these greatly significant tasks.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY DIALECTICS OF MARXIST REALISM. ON THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF V. I. LENIN'S WORK 'ON THE PROBLEM OF DIALECTICS'

AU300601 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 35-45

[Text] In 1925 an article entitled "On the Problem of Dialectics," signed by "N. Lenin," appeared in a double issue of the journal BOLSHEVIK (Nos 5-6) under the rubric "Lenin and Leninism." A brief note from the editor stated that "these pages" were part of one of Il'ich's philosophical notebooks and that on the cover of the notebook he had written "philosophy" and further-- "varia."

Thus began the publication of Lenin's manuscript philosophical legacy. During 1929-1930 almost all Lenin's main philosophical manuscripts were published in the ninth and 12th volumes of Lenin's collected works, and then in the form of a separate book entitled "Philosophical Notebooks."

For the first time it became possible to evaluate all that Lenin had done in the field of philosophy. For the first time his philosophical legacy appeared in all its integrity. For the first time the greatness of Lenin's philosophical genius appeared before the world in all its fullness, depth and strength.

Up until this point opportunists had spread the opinion that Lenin, of course, was a great revolutionary, but a man with a practical mentality, so to speak. He was contrasted with such theoreticians as Plekhanov, Bogdanov, Bukharin; and abroad, of course, Kautsky was considered the "pope" of Marxism. The question of Lenin as one of the greatest thinkers and, what is more, as a philosopher, was hardly raised. Lenin's well-known philosophical work entitled "Materialism and Empirical Criticism" was fairly often passed off as a polemical work in defense of the "rudiments" of materialism.

The appearance of "Philosophical Notebooks" shocked the advocates of views such as these. Attempts were made to treat "Notebooks" simply as synopses of philosophical works having no independent scientific significance. The opinion most frequently encountered was that "Philosophical Notebooks" stood apart from Lenin's political articles and had no revolutionary-practical significance.

It took years and decades to grasp and evaluate at their true worth the whole depth and diversity of Lenin's philosophical insights, the whole of their inexhaustible wealth, and to understand dialectics as a means, method, and instrument of cognizing political, economic and social conflicts in the whole of their contradictoriness and complexity. And, consequently, they understand Lenin, as both a philosopher and a revolutionary thinker, and also to understand Lenin's philosophy as a means of cognizing and revolutionarily transforming reality. There is not and there cannot be a true revolutionary without revolutionary theory, just as there is not and cannot be revolutionary theory without a revolutionary, that is, dialectical-materialist, philosophy.

"Philosophical Notebooks" not only provide the reader with a document testifying to the process of Lenin's grasp of the depths of dialectical-materialist thought, but also with a document making it possible to discuss the Leninist stage in the development of Marxist philosophy.

What place does the article "On the Problem of Dialectics" occupy a "Philosophical Notebooks"? This small fragment, only a few pages long, represents a concise, as if condensed resume of Lenin's thoughts on dialectics. This brilliant sketch is truly worth whole volumes.

Lenin proposed writing a special work on dialectics. This plan, and also a similar plan of Marx, unfortunately remained unfulfilled. The fragment "On the Problem of Dialectics" is probably the program for a future book. As a whole, Lenin's "Philosophical Notebooks" seem to continue "Materialism and Empirical Criticism." But whereas in the work of 1908 Lenin places the emphasis on materialism (dialectical), in "Philosophical Notebooks" he places the stress on dialectics (materialist).

"On the Problem of Dialectics," and also a number of other important works from "Philosophical Notebooks," was written by Lenin in 1915, at the height of the world imperialist war.

It would seem that the time was most unsuitable for the solitary philosophical meditation to which Lenin gave himself up with exceptional intensity in the quiet of libraries. The world seemed to have gone mad. Europe had divided into warring camps: Germany and Austro-Hungary, on the one hand, and Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro, on the other.

The war progressed with exceptional cruelty and barbarity. Millions and millions of soldiers rushed into the bloody carnage. German troops crossed to a counteroffensive and trampled on Russian soil.

The intoxication of "blind patriotism" swept nearly every stratum of Russian society. The same situation occurred in France, while on the other hand Germany was supposedly crying out against tsarist despotism. In both camps the slogans "Defend the Fatherland" and "War Until a Victorious End" rang out.

The leaders of right-wing social democracy expressed their solidarity with the interests of "their" militarist bourgeoisie, thus pushing the workers of various countries into a fratricidal war. All this had its own "logic" by which however one twisted and turned it and covered it with pharisaical

phrases, the true state of affairs was that internationalism was being substituted by chauvinism.

Lenin immediately perceived the true essence of events of a mercilessly clear light. His logic was fundamentally different from, and in opposition to, the sophistry and eclectics present in the arguments of the social-chauvinists and the opportunists.

As early as the beginning of the war, Lenin wrote on the subject of the position of the European Social Democrats: "...It is impossible to formalistically defend the base chauvinism of the Germans...One cannot endure it and be diplomatic--one must rise up against ignominious chauvinism with all one's might" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 49, pp 5-6).

And in the following letter: "I am very alarmed and troubled by the position of the European Socialists in this war. I am sure that all of them--and the German Socialists first and foremost--have become 'chauvinists.' it is completely insufferable to read German and French...socialist newspapers. Extreme 'chauvinism.' I fear that the contemporary crisis has compelled many, too many socialists to lose their heads (if one can express oneself so) and that, in the final analysis, it is opportunism that is guilty in this extraordinary 'disgrace' of European socialism" (ibid., p 6).

Lenin's thoughts are clear. Opportunism, which had placed its hopes in a reconciliation of classes, in a "class partnership." In capitalism's slow development, by means of reform, into socialism, and, as a result, in an agreement with bourgeoisie, at the moment of world crisis struck a bargain. A bargain with "its own" national bourgeoisie against "its own" proletariat.

Kautsky, who appeared to occupy the "happy medium" between the chauvinists and the internationalists, was "the most harmful of all." "So dangerous and base is his sophistry, which conceals the filth of the opportunists with the smoothest and most smarmy of phrases...The opportunists are a patent evil. The German 'center' led by Kautsky is cloaked evil which is dressed up in diplomatic phrases, clogs the eyes, mind and conscience of the workers, and is the most dangerous thing of all" (ibid., p 13).

Differences, and especially principled divergences in position must be clearly brought into the light and not concealed, not "painted over," not "sealed up." Opposite positions must be on different poles even in ideological struggle. There is nothing worse, nothing more dangerous for the interests of the workers class than when these opposite class interests are obliterated, when their meaning and substance are sophistically distorted, when compromises between them are sought (eclectics), when their substance is emasculated and passed off as something totally different (sophistry).

The more clearly manifest the predatory, antinational essence of the imperialist carnage became--crimes toward the peoples on the part of both warring sides--the more loathsome Kautsky's indeterminate position appeared. It reduced Lenin to a frenzy. "There is now nothing on earth more harmful and dangerous to the IDEOLOGICAL independence of the proletariat than this vile



complacency and to appease the stirred conscience of the workers with sophistries and supposedly learned verbosity" (ibid., p 21).

The social-chauvinists and the advocates of "defense of the fatherland" were opposed by the pacifists, who appealed for immediate peace. It would seem that it would have been right for the Bolsheviks to support this slogan. But Lenin the dialectician argued differently. The slogan of "immediate peace" was also supported by the bourgeoisie, terrified by the war. The situation in the major warring countries--in Russia, Germany and France--was prerevolutionary, the buildup before the storm. It had been incredibly exacerbated with the war and continued to worsen with every passing day. The slogan of "peace" in those conditions was a slogan of disarming the workers. And weapons, as long as they were in the hands of the proletariat, had to be turned against "one's own" bourgeoisie, against "one's own" government in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin considered the slogan TURN IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR to be the only right slogan appropriate to the complex dialectics of events. There was no other way to just, democratic peace.

It was the only way, in those conditions, "to remain revolutionaries...EVEN ON MILITARY SOIL. And the CLASS STRUGGLE must be propagated among the troops" (ibid., p 25).

As a result of its opportunist policies the Second International failed. Its leaders were full of despair. It seemed to them that this was the defeat of the revolution. No, Lenin believed, this was not the defeat of revolutionary spirit, but of insufficient revolutionary spirit--the collapse of opportunism. To the dialectical rather than one-track metaphysical mind, every phenomenon has more than one meaning, with the transition of one opposite to another. Thus, even the imperialist war--a great calamity for mankind--also brought, as it turns out, certain benefit to the cause of the proletariat.

"The European war," said Lenin, "was of great advantage to international socialism in that it clearly disclosed the degree of putridity, baseness and meanness of opportunism, thereby serving as a powerful spur to cleanse the workers movement of the manure it had accumulated over the decades of peace" (ibid., pp 43-44).

Once again a dialectically unexpected idea. The party's strength was growing at a time when its numbers were decreasing and when it was shedding virtually the majority--the opportunists--of its members. The death of the International--its suicide--was to the benefit of the workers movement. The International (opportunist) was dead. Long live the proletarian International!

The leaders of the Second International defended one or other of the warring sides, justifying it and desiring its victory. In this respect they cited Marx and Engels, who supposedly usually desired the victory of one of the sides in their analyses of the wars of the 19th century. Lenin exposed these references to Marx and Engels as being sophistries. The era was something totally different! That had been an era when the rising bourgeoisie held center stage. The present era, on the other hand, was the era of decaying

capitalism-imperialism, and at the center of the revolutionary movements stood the workers class. Proletarian revolution was the order of the day. Dialectical analysis, Lenin insisted, required a historical approach. "Marx's method," he wrote, "lies primarily in considering the OBJECTIVE substance of the historical process at a given concrete moment and in a given concrete situation in order to primarily understand WHICH class movement is the mainspring of possible progress in this concrete situation" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 26, pp 139-140).

A concrete historical method is essential to dialectical analysis and is its most basic feature. It naturally also permeates the creative ideas of our party in its determination of the historical features of the period in which we find ourselves at a given moment. Elucidation of the objective substance of the contemporary historical process comprises the essence of the party's creative development of the concept of developed socialism and of the scientific and political realism on which this concept is based. The main principles of dialectical materialist analysis are also given in Lenin's fragment "On the Problem of Dialectics." In this lies its permanent significance for comprehending the present, the past and the future.

Lenin developed new tactics and strategy for the proletarian party fully armed with dialectical method in the period of the imperialist war and the exacerbation of all the contradictions of capitalist society. He so infallibly oriented himself in the most complex of sociopolitical situations that he assumed a dialectical approach to the dialectics of life. And, while whetting the cutting edge of his theoretical ideas, it was no accident that he turned to the history of philosophy, primarily Hegelian philosophy. Engels himself wrote that there is only one way of perfecting theoretical thinking, and that is to study the whole of preceding philosophy (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 20, p 366).

The scale, intensity and diversity of the work done by Lenin during 1914-1915 is simply striking. He wrote a whole series of passionate articles and program party documents, submitted a number of papers defending the fundamentally correct policies of the party and conducted lively correspondence, explaining his position, convincing people of the rightness of this position, and warning against mistakes. He was in charge of the newspaper SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT and took pains over the publication of the journal KOMMUNIST. In 1915 a double issue of this journal (Nos 1-2) was published. It contained three articles by Lenin: "The Collapse of the Second International" "The Honest Voice of the French Socialist," and "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy." Lenin was concerned with continuing the publication of KOMMUNIST, but the leadership positions of the editorial staff were filled by people deviating from Lenin's policies--Pyatakov, Bukharin and Bosh.

The differences in opinion, in particular, in relation to the war and the national problem were of a principled nature. The journal had to fold.

And amid all these matters Lenin found time for systematic philosophical study. In 1914 he wrote the great encyclopaedic work "Karl Marx." He studied Feuerbach and Hegel. In 1914 he compiled an extensive synopsis on Hegel's "The Science of Logic." In 1915 he began work on the book "Imperialism as the

Highest Stage of Capitalism," and studied and made abstracts of Hegel's "Lectures on the History of Philosophy" and "Lectures on the Philosophy of History," LaSalle's book on Heraclitus, Aristotle's "Metaphysics," and a multitude of other works. The abstracts abound in Lenin's own observations, thoughts and ideas. Lenin summed up these ideas of his in the fragment "On the Problem of Dialectics."

Lenin begins by explaining what constitutes the essence and the core of dialectics. He turns to Heraclitus, who was proud that the thesis on the unity of opposites was the key to his philosophy. "The bifurcation of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts...is the ESSENCE (one of the 'essential elements' and one of the main, if not the main, peculiarities or features) of dialectics" (ibid., vol 29, p 316).

The identity (unity) of opposites, Lenin explains further, is the recognition (discovery) of contradictory, MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, opposite tendencies in all natural phenomena and processes, INCLUDING in society and in the spirit. A condition of comprehending all world processes in their "self-movement" and SELF-DEVELOPMENT is that of cognizing them as a unity of opposites. Development is the "struggle" of opposites, and not simply evolutionary reduction and enlargement.

Only this understanding of development, only this concept provides the key to understanding everything existing, only they provide the key to "leaps," to "interruption in gradualness," to "transformation to the opposite," to the destruction of the old and the appearance of the new.

It is particularly important in this respect, Lenin emphasizes, to bear in mind that the unity (coincidence, identity) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transient and relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, as development and movement are absolute.

Without taking this into account it is easy to slip into sophistry, for which the relative is only relative. For dialectics, on the other hand, there is an absolute, a stable element in the relative and in the fluid. For the dialectician Heraclitus, one ought not enter the same river twice. For the sophist one ought not enter the same river even once. The sophist and the eclectic in politics easily substitute the concept of patriotism with nationalism and social-chauvinism without seeing the principled difference between them.

From this course of discussion there also emanates another most important idea of Lenin's in the fragment "On the Problem of Dialectics": Dialectics must be comprehended as both a law of the objective world and a law of cognition. Even Plekhanov did not comprehend it in this way. For him dialectics appeared only as a sum of examples.

Lenin returned once again to Plekhanov's understanding of dialectics: "Dialectics is the theory of cognition of (Hegel and) Marxism: This is the 'aspect' of the matter (it is not an 'aspect' of the matter, but the ESSENCE of the matter) to which Plekhanov paid no attention, to say nothing of other Marxists" (ibid, p 321).



This is a statement of Lenin's which now frequently chances to be elucidated, needs to be elucidated. What did Lenin have in mind when he said that Plekhanov did not understand dialectics as the theory of cognition? Not only that the well-known theoretician of Marxism confined himself to popularizing dialectics, and not only that he regarded dialectics simply as a sum of examples. Plekhanov was an encyclopaedically educated Marxist who did a great deal to propagandize this teaching. But under the new conditions, in the new political situation it was necessary not only to propagandize, but also to creatively apply and develop Marxist teaching, and to think and act dialectically in theory and in politics.

Unfortunately, the question of how "deviations" from dialectics in the direction of metaphysics, sophistry and eclectics manifested themselves in Plekhanov's political thinking has not yet attracted the attention of researchers into his work. But there is no doubt that it merits special study. This can be regarded as one of Lenin's behests.

A great deal of disputes and differences have arisen over Lenin's thesis that dialectics is also the theory of the cognition of Marxism. In other words, the thesis on the "coincidence," the "identity" between dialectics and the theory of cognition, and also of logic.

Sometimes attempts are made to interpret this idea of Lenin's as a figure of speech which has no literal, precise meaning, in the sense that there are three different, but mutually connected sciences. Dialectics, they say, is concerned with the general laws of nature and society, fulfilling the role of ontology. The theory of knowledge (gnoseology) is concerned with the laws of cognition. And logic is reduced to the study of specialized, primarily formal operations of thinking.

Lenin's idea is thereby distorted. Lenin proceeded from the fact that dialectical laws are common to everything existing: to nature, society and thought. Thought can adequately grasp the contradictions of what exists only if it is dialectical. Teaching on existence in Marxism is indivisible from teaching on cognition and on thought, because dialectics, according to Lenin, is "LIVING, multifaceted (with a perpetually increasing number of aspects) cognition with a multitude of nuances in every approach, continuously drawing near to reality (with a philosophical system developing into a whole out of every nuance)..." Dialectics is immeasurably richer in content than metaphysical materialism, the main misfortune of which lies in its inability to apply dialectics to the process and the development of cognition. Lenin perceived the gnoseological roots of idealism and idealistic interpretation of both existence and thought in the ignoring of the dialectics of cognition, in the one-track, one-sided approach, and in the rigid, ossified attitude. Dialectics, taken only as "ontology" and in opposition to "gnoseology" inevitably turns into something akin to Duehring's "world scheme." Consequently, for the Marxist, dialectics is the theory of knowledge and the logic of thought.

Lenin spoke on this matter more than once; both in connection with his readings of Hegel's works and independently. He said very definitely and



categorically, not permitting any different interpretations: "Whereas Marx did not retain 'LOGIC' (with a capital 'I'), he did retain the LOGIC of 'Das Kapital' logic, dialectics and strictly used in relation to this question. In 'Das Kapital' logic, dialectics and the theory of cognition (one does not need to use three words: they are one and the same thing) of materialism, which has taken everything valuable in Hegel and developed it further, are applied to one science" (ibid., p 301).

One does not need to use three words! They are one and the same thing! It could not be more clearly put.

The Marxist thesis that the unity of the world lies in its material nature is reflected and developed in the thesis that this unity also lies in its dialectical nature. The identity of dialectics, logic and the theory of cognition is also philosophical materialism, monism, which proceeds from the fact that the same dialectical laws reign in the sphere of nature, society and thought. Consistent materialism can only be dialectical. Consistent dialectics can only be materialist. Any attempts to break up this identity not only lead to concessions being made to metaphysics, but also to idealism, subjectivism and formalism. They lead to the philosophy of Marxism being substituted by "cybernetic philosophy," systemology, structuralism, operationalism and so forth. Logic with a capital "L" is logistics. Remembering this is an indispensable condition of world outlook precision and methodological discipline of thought.

Since the end of the last century a sharply negative attitude has appeared in bourgeois social science with regard to materialist dialectics, which is considered some kind of special case, trick, cunning game with concepts, a somersault of categories, with the aid of which Marxists supposedly try to create the "appearance" of resolving the most complex scientific problems. For revisionism and reformism, the revolutionary-dialectical method of thinking is radically unacceptable. They strive to slight dialectics as a method of speculation alien to scientific realism, positivistically interpreting the latter in the spirit of "creeping empiricism." Opportunists "know no realism other than creeping realism," wrote Lenin (ibid., vol 11, p 137). That is precisely why metaphysics, eclectics and sophistry became the method of thinking for the leaders of the Second International. The not unknown apostle of right-wing socialism, Renner, set "contemporary science," which "not only in the description of phenomena, but also in theoretical research uses the inductive, rather than the deductive method; it proceeds from the facts of experience which are directly observable" (K. Renner, "The Theory of the Capitalist Economy," Moscow-Leningrad, 1926, pp 18-19) against the method of Marx, whose manner of exposition, in his words, "has become alien to us." Renner, of course, was totally unable to understand that the method of Marx' "Das Kapital" by no means amounted to deduction and that its edifice had been raised on a "whole Mont Blanc" of factual material. He was also unable to understand that facts can be interpreted in the most various ways by inserting them in various systems of categories. So it is that without dialectics one cannot thoroughly cognize the phenomena of real life. True realism in science and in politics is possible only when it is based on materialism, and dialectical materialism. It is precisely this that communicates real breadth and boldness of views to theory and to politics.

Bourgeois and revisionist sociologists at best tend to admit that dialectics is appropriate only in the cognition of the human spirit, but they do not consider it applicable to the research of material phenomena. Here we once again witness a breach (contrasting) between materialism and dialectics.

Marx's words are still relevant today in characterizing contemporary anticommunism in its relation to dialectics: "In its rational form, dialectics instills only malice and horror in the bourgeoisie and its doctrinaire-ideologists, because as well as providing a positive interpretation of what exists it also includes the concept of its negation and necessary destruction; it regards every existing form as being in flux, consequently also perceiving its transient aspect, and it bows down to nothing and, by its very essence, is critical and revolutionary" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 23, p 22).

Another important feature of Lenin's article is connected with the method of "Das Kapital." It is the problem of the "origin," the "cellule" in the exposition of the political economy of capitalist society.

"In 'Das Kapital' Marx first analyzes the most simple, ordinary, basic, mass, commonplace RELATION, encountered billions of times over, of bourgeois (commodity) society: commodity exchange. The analysis reveals in this most simple of phenomena (in this 'cellule' of bourgeois society) all the contradictions (the respective embryos of ALL contradictions) of contemporary society. Further exposition shows us the development (BOTH growth AND movement) of these contradictions and this society in sigma (in sum--ED.) of its separate parts, from its beginning to its end" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 29, p 318).

It is really a question of the method of ascent from the abstract to the concrete in Marx's "Das Kapital."

How did the problem of where to begin the theoretical reproduction of the system of capitalist economic operations present itself to Hegel in his time and to Marx? A great deal depended on the solution to this problem because the wrong initial premise would lead to wrong conclusions and because one cannot build a well-balanced edifice of theory on shaky foundations. It seemed to be most natural to begin political economy with something concrete, such as population, nation, or state, for example. This is what the economists of the 18th century did.

However, the state is a complex concept. One cannot understand it without understanding what goes to make up the state mechanism, how this mechanism works and by what class interests and political and economic factors its activities are determined.

And if the research started with the state or the population, the result would be a very vague and chaotic notion of the whole and the understanding of various aspects of these concepts could be approached only by means of more detailed definitions. It would be necessary to reverse the path from this point and come again to the population or the state, but this time not as a

chaotic notion, but as some kind of rich totality of numerous definitions and relations.

It is theoretically correct to begin from the elementary, from an analysis of the simplest social relation. But which precisely? Where is this starting "cell," this embryo from which the integral organism of capitalist production naturally develops?

Marx focuses his attention on the commodity. The first paragraph of "Das Kapital" reads: "The wealth of the societies in which the capitalist method of production is dominant appears as an 'enormous accumulation of commodities,' and the individual commodity stands as the elementary form of that wealth. Therefore our research starts with an analysis of the commodity" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.", vol 23, p 43).

Marx opens "Das Kapital" with what is most basic, that is, with the commodity and the commodity exchange. And this is on no account a phantom of the mind but rather something tangible to the senses and something profoundly material with which everyone deals each day, something that permeates the entire organism of the economy in all of its parts and details, something that represents the historical point of departure.

What really is the relationship of commodities? On what is it based? On the contradiction between the use and exchange values. Marx examines the movement of these two opposites and the opposition between abstract and concrete labor, connected with the former opposites, and comes to a more complex concept of the general form of value, and from that to the monetary form of value. The movement of this thinking ends in accordance with the logic of the subject of research itself.

He does not digress even an inch from the analysis from the real process of commodity production and turnover. And it is precisely for this reason that he achieves positive results.

Characterizing Marx's method in "Das Kapital," Engels writes: "Whoever wants to have a striking example of the fact that the German dialectical method at its present stage of development surpasses the old common and indiscrete metaphysical method at least as much as the railway surpasses the transport means of the Middle Ages, should read the works of Adam Smith or of any of the other well-known official economists to see what troubles the exchange value and the use value cause for these gentlemen and how difficult they find it to separate one from the other and understand each of them in its distinctive definition, and then he should contrast all this with the clear and simple explanation of this question in Marx's works" (ibid., vol 13, pp 498-499).

The harmonious structure of Marx's theory is erected from concept to concept and from category to category in strict conformity with the structure of capitalist production. Each successive category is necessarily derived from the preceding one, and is being enriched with a new substance and includes an increasingly wide range of phenomena? This is, it is being defined. The analysis of the starting contradiction founded in the commodity relationship leads to a clarification of developed contradictions of the capitalist society



in their concrete manifestation and, consequently, to the revolutionary conclusion on the inevitable negation of that society.

The proletariat acquires a powerful theoretical weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Science is enriched with the dialectical-materialist method of ascent from the abstract to the concrete.

The dialectical method must yet demonstrate in scientific cognition everything that it is capable of. The natural sciences feel an urgent need to generalize and compare all materials that have been accumulated, to dialectically examine all these materials, and to integrate the separate achievements of different sciences by means of a new intelligible and methodological apparatus.

On this path natural science enters the highest sphere of theoretical thinking. It inevitably comes up against the task of reducing all the achieved results to a definite system and establishing them within the framework of a unified theory. This task is already now on the agenda of contemporary physics, biology and ecology. To solve this task there is no other method than the method of ascent from the abstract to the concrete.

The dialectical-materialist method is a powerful weapon in the hands of the researcher. It helps him to choose the right guideline, to not be pushed off the path, and to not come to a dead end. It helps him perceive the problem where experimentation and mathematical analysis still cannot find it. However, all this is possible only under the immutable condition that the researcher is not simply familiar with the philosophical theses, but that he also perfectly masters this method.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy is called upon to work out the methods of creative and searching thinking. It is called upon to uncover new methods of progress of theoretical thinking, new forms of thinking that correspond to an increasingly deeper penetration into the essence of things. The materialist dialectic, just like Marxism as a whole, is not a dogma, but a plan for action.

The method of ascent from the abstract to the concrete is naturally applicable primarily to the social sciences. It is not through any of its faults that the search in this direction has not produced any tangible results so far.

Long discussions have been held to determine from where, for instance, the political economy of socialism should "start," that is, from the categories of "labor," "systematic planning," or the "relationship of mutual assistance and cooperation." However, virtually no success has been achieved in forming any kind of an integral theory on the basis of any of these substantiations. Discussions have been held and continue to be held about the "cell" of social sciences as a whole. Numerous solutions have been proposed also in this regard but none of them has been sufficiently substantiated.

The fact must be always remembered that in "Das Kapital" the method of ascent from the abstract to the concrete represents a method of reproducing the system of capitalist economy in its entirety, in its dynamics, in its historical genesis and function. However, this interpretation, which is the



only correct one, is often replaced by attempts to formalize and emasculate the method of "Das Kapital" and reduce it to a "system-structural method" that is primarily borrowed from the spheres of biology, semiotics and linguistics.

Claiming to "be perfecting methodology and enriching it with new means" and claiming the role of a "new methodological method," the formalistically treated and scholastic "system method" used in some contemporary economics works (despite all the good intentions of its advocates) in fact distort the true system reproduction of the economy of the capitalist society, the reproduction worked out by Marx and retraced in a number of the works by Soviet authors. An excessive emphasis on the formal aspects of cognitive activities has led some philosophers to the conclusion that the dialectic of cognition, fixed in specific laws, is not a reproduction of the outside world. This is a clear deviation from the Marxist-Leninist theory of reflection.

This interpretation of the specific nature of thought and cognition also entails other consequences. For instance, it is claimed that even if contradictions are apparent in the objective reality, they should be reflected in theory without any contradiction and that the contradictions of thought are something undesirable of which one should rid oneself and which should be "blocked off." There is only a short step from this position to a special "technique" of ridding oneself of contradictions by means of terminological, symbolic and other devices.

The study of the category of "contradiction" is one of the basic problems of dialectics. The Leninist demand for cognition of contradictions concerns by its nature, among other things, also the essence and nature of socialist social relations. Two extreme positions have been apparent in this connection. On the one hand, contradictions as the motive force of socialist development have been negated (and, for instance, the sociopolitical unity of Soviet society, considered without any reference to its contradictions, has been proclaimed as such a motive force). On the other hand, it has been allowed that antagonistic contradictions can (or do) exist in the socialist society. The discussions that have taken place among the Soviet sociologists have overcome both of these one-sided approaches. The significance of this question was stated absolutely definitely in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's report at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "What is needed today is a comprehensive study of the nonantagonistic contradictions that are characteristic of mature socialism, and of the specific ways of resolving them under the conditions of an increasingly strong sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society. Here, just as in any social organism, a struggle is in progress against what is old, and not only constructive, but also negative tendencies are in operation."

Despite a whole series of solid and fundamental works on dialectic, the tasks bequeathed to us by Marx and Lenin, that is, the task of developing Logic with a capital "L", has not been yet fulfilled at the necessary level.

Why is not the method of ascent from the abstract to the concrete used in the attempts at solving this task? Although Lenin's essay "On the Question of Dialectics" even outlines the path precisely of this solution of the problem. Lenin wrote that the method of expounding the dialectic in general should be

the same used by Marx in expounding the dialectic of the capitalist society. It is possible to start with any proposition, as for instance: "The leaves of the tree are green." Here there is already a dialectic: The individual is the common. The common exists only in the individual and through the individual. And vice versa: The individual exists only in the common.

However, if you will, what is more important is not only to provide a system of the internal network and development of dialectical categories, but also to reveal how Marx and Engels applied the dialectic in the process of concrete research. Special attention should be devoted to the dialectic in the process of concrete research. Special attention should be devoted to the dialectic of Lenin's political and socioeconomic thinking. His creative legacy has not been analyzed a great deal from this viewpoint. Such a task has not been specifically posed. But solving this task is extremely important in order not only to understand what the dialectic really is, but also to learn to master it. That is to master it as a method of cognition and as an effective revolutionary weapon. This is how Lenin posed the question and this is how the party poses it today.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko notes in his article "Up to the Level of the Demands of Developed Socialism" that the materialistic dialectic, the teaching on development, represents in the methodological aspect the "living soul," the core of the concept of developed socialism. Precisely the viewpoint of development provides the key to understanding this concept not as a collection of theses which only have to be learned by rote but as a constantly and creatively enriching system of views, as an instrument of cognition and transformation of the socialist reality. This is the heart of the matter. In working out the theory of socialist revolution, of the transitional period, and of the natural ascent of socialism on the steps of its socioeconomic maturity, Lenin, too, proceeded from Marx's and Engel's teaching on the development of the communist formation and on its two stages.

The strength of our theory, Comrade K. U. Chernenko notes, is in its truth and in its correspondence to the objective progress of things. This also applies fully to the methodology that the communists have taken up as their weapon and Lenin, not without reason, defined as the "revolutionary dialectic of Marxist realism..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 11, p 137).

Marx, Engels and Lenin provided the greatest examples of creative development of the dialectical-materialist philosophy and of its application to all spheres of the reality, that is, the nature, society and thought. They gave examples of implacable struggle against all and every kind of deviation from the materialist dialectic and of the struggle for purity of the revolutionary theory. To constantly learn from them to master the dialectical methods in analyzing the most complex problems, to creatively develop Marxist-Leninism on the ground, on the basis, on the foundation of this very theory, and not to retreat from the principles even an inch! This is the party's call to us.

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## LENIN AND THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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[Article by V. Yegorov, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] Eighty years have passed since the revolutionary storming of Russian autocracy and capitalism, in which millions of workers and peasants participated, began. The 1905-1907 Revolution was destined to assume an important position in Russian and world history. Bolshevism, the party of a new type, headed by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, strengthened and developed in its course. The year 1905 was the prologue to the Great October. The First Russian Revolution brought to light major progressive changes in the liberation movement of the working people in many countries.

The entire course of Russian economic and political development and the vital interests of the people dictated the need for a revolutionary crushing of the autocratic-landlord state and social system, which restrained the growth of production forces, hindered progress (particularly in agriculture) and doomed the working people to forced labor, inhuman exploitation, political rightlessness and national oppression. The economic crisis at the turn of the 20th century and the hardships of the people related to the Russo-Japanese War, in which tsarism suffered humiliating defeats, broke the ground for a revolutionary explosion.

The events which took place between the end of 1904 and beginning of 1905 clearly indicated which of the social forces was truly revolutionary and was able decisively to oppose autocracy. The general strike of workers in Petersburg and the march on the Winter Palace, organized by the priest Gapon, the purpose of which was to submit to the tsar a petition demanding freedom, ended in a bloody slaughter. Thousands of people were killed or wounded. The First Russian Revolution broke out on 9 January. The workers' anger and indignation swelled into a wave of powerful strikes which spread throughout the country. The working class took decisive action under the slogans "Down With Autocracy!" and "To Arms!" Neither the petitions submitted by liberals to the government nor the SR acts of terrorism could compare with the powerful movement of the proletariat. In January alone the number of strikers was 10 times that of the average annual level reached during the preceding decade. Nothing similar had ever happened in the world. "Slumbering Russia," Lenin



wrote, "became Russia of the revolutionary proletariat and revolutionary people" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 311).

The First Russian Revolution went through two major stages in its development: the period of upsurge in 1905 and the period of decline in 1906-1907. In the spring of 1905, a brief period of calm was followed by a new powerful outburst of proletarian class struggle. The May Day demonstrations and strikes, the uprisings in Lodz and aboard the battleship Potemkin, the general strike in Ivano-Voznesensk and the birth of the first citywide soviet of worker deputies, the bloody clashes in Moscow and other cities, the all-Russian October strike, which paralyzed the huge country and which resulted in a brief proclamation of freedom and the dissemination of soviets of worker deputies, the new general strike in November, the new uprisings in the fleet, the growth of peasant actions throughout the country and, in December, the culmination of the revolution and its highest upsurge--the armed uprisings in Moscow and dozens of other cities--are a brief chronicle of the most important events of those Sturm und Drang years. The years 1906-1907 were marked by the offensive mounted by the reaction and the slow retreat of the revolution, alternating with individual upsurges in the labor movement, uprisings in the army and navy and the struggle for elections to the state Duma and within it.

The revolutionary struggle of those years is crowded with outstanding and dramatic manifestations of the heroism displayed by masses and individuals. The exploit of the workers of Krasnaya Presnya, the soldiers and seamen of Kronstadt and Sveaborg and the names of N. Bauman, I. Babushkin, Kamo, I. Kalyayev, A. Ukhtomskiy and Lt P. Schmidt have become part of history forever. It is no accident that the 1905-1907 period has been reflected in many talented works of art, such as M. Gorkiy's novel "Mother," Eyzenshtein's movie "The Battleship Potemkin," I. Shadr's sculpture "The Cobblestone--the Weapon of the Proletariat," the works of V. Makovskiy, B. Pasternak and D. Shostakovich, and others. It is no accident that one of the major Italian contemporary writers, Ponino Guerra, who wrote the scenarios for the best films produced by F. Fellini and M. Antonioni, and who worked on a book on the tense and conflicting atmosphere of the end of the 1960s in Western Europe and the United States, was inspired by the themes and characters of the First Russian Revolution.

Even on the surface, during that time the revolutionary movement was distinguished by a number of specific features which characterized the depth of contradictions which had accumulated in Russian society and the tremendous potential of the working class, which immediately showed itself to be the leading force. Let us note, above all, the scope of the movement and its spreading throughout the huge territory of the Russian Empire, the mass nature of the stubborn struggle and the fast growth of the proletariat's political awareness. Whereas the January demonstrations were held in 66 cities, the May Day demonstrations and strikes were held in nearly 200 and the October strike covered the entire country. There were 5 million strikers in 1905 alone. As many as 25,000 strikes of factory and plant workers, thousands of peasant actions and about 250 uprisings and mutinies in the army and navy were recorded in the three revolutionary years. Employees, students and craftsmen joined the workers in their struggle. Movements in the national outlying areas increased, particularly in Poland, the Baltic area, Finland and the



Caucasus. This spasmodic development of the class struggle lasted 2.5 years, involving ever new social strata and making it a truly national revolution.

The year 1905 provided vivid examples of the revolutionary creativity of the masses and the conversion of the proletariat, the peasantry and the middle strata to higher forms of struggle. During the first revolution, Lenin pointed out, "under the influence of a number of entirely original historical conditions, backward Russia was the first to show to the world not only the spasmodic growth of the activities of oppressed masses during a revolution (which had been the case in all great revolutions) but also the importance of the proletariat, infinitely greater than its share of the entire population, and the combination of economic with political strikes, converting the latter into an armed uprising and the birth of new forms of mass struggle and mass organization of classes oppressed by capitalism--the soviets" (op. cit., vol 41, p 75).

Both the 1905-1907 Revolution as a whole and its individual events and facts have been the subject of a tremendous number of historical and theoretical studies, books, monographs, articles, collections of memoirs and documents and parts of textbooks published in various countries. Interest in this problem is alive to this day, for the First Russian Revolution, which inaugurated the 20th century, touches upon many topical problems of contemporary life despite the qualitative changes which have occurred in the world in subsequent decades. The role of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in the three Russian revolutions, the legitimacy of the October Revolution, the strategy and tactics of the bolsheviks in resolving democratic problems in combination with the struggle for socialism, the question of power, the historical creativity of the masses and the role of the working class and others are subjects of an extremely sharp ideological struggle today.

On the basis of historical facts and documents, Soviet authors have exposed the total groundlessness of one of the leading anticommunist versions, promoted in the works of L. Shapiro, A. Mayer, Z. Brzezinski, A. Ulam, R. Garaudy, E. Fischer, M. Ferro and others, consisting of an attempt to prove the illegitimacy of the appearance of bolshevism, which they classify as a "purely Russian phenomenon" and a "complete break" between Lenin's understanding of the role of the party and Marx's historical materialism. According to their views, Lenin created a "vanguard party," a "party of the elite," which was called upon to replace the working class in organizing and making the revolution, which converted the proletariat from the subject of the class struggle to the object of the liberation movement. According to our ideological opponents, in this case Lenin allegedly followed not Marx but Bakunin and Blanqui.

The works of bourgeois historians interpret very superficially the reasons for the division with the RSDWP and the struggle between bolsheviks and mensheviks. Lenin's "intransigence," his desire to assume "personal control" over the party in the absence of alleged essential differences among the various social democratic factions, and a personality struggle within the party's leadership were, in their view, the main reasons for the conflict. The bourgeois historians characterization of the motive forces and the

struggle among classes in the 1905-1907 Revolution ignore the real historical facts and follow in the fairway of menshevik concepts.

The activity of the Russian bourgeoisie is described as highly effective, while the struggle waged by the working class and the peasantry during the revolution is considered as being essentially economic. Lenin's conclusion of the need for a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry as a prerequisite for the decisive victory of the revolution is presented as a manifestation of his "anti-democratism," ignoring the obvious historical fact that it is precisely the bolsheviks who, without concealing their end objectives, had done everything possible to ensure the overthrow of autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic. It is natural that the bourgeois ideologues proclaim the organizational principles of bolshevism equally antidemocratic and unacceptable to Western communist parties.

These and similar assertions and assessments may be considered, to say the least, proof of shallow mastery of factual data: as a rule, they are the result of the deliberate misrepresentation of history aimed at diverting today's fighters for democracy and socialism from the creative mastery of Leninism and the experience of our party and the Russian working class. This is the most important characteristic feature of all bourgeois historiography dealing with problems of Leninism, the establishment of bolshevism and the First Russian Revolution.

The truly scientific and exceptionally profound development of all such problems is found in the works of Lenin, who was the first Marxist historian of the 1905-1907 bourgeois-democratic revolution, and in the works of other noted Bolshevik Party leaders and party publicists. Lenin's concept is the foundation for the scientific interpretation and further study of the 1905-1907 revolutionary struggle.

The entry of mankind into a new age of change, the shifting of the center of the global revolutionary movement to Russia and the assumption by the working class of vanguard positions in sociopolitical changes faced the Russian Marxists with a number of important tasks at the turn of the 20th century. The political party, which had been founded at the 2nd Congress, guided by a new program and reorganized, had to act in such a way as to lead the Russian working class to resolving "the most revolutionary of all immediate tasks of the proletariat in any country (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 6, p 28)--the task of destroying the most powerful bulwark of European and Asian reaction--Russian autocracy.

The historical conditions and decisive turn made by the proletariat to open political struggle made the formulation of the tactical foundations for resolving the revolutionary problems of the democratic stage vitally necessary to the party. The fact that this objectively ripe problem was resolved despite all difficulties is inseparably related to Lenin, whose dominating feature, as expressed by Lunacharskiy, was "will, an extremely strained will, able to concentrate on the immediate task, drawn by a strong mind, a will which considered each individual task a link in a single huge chain leading to a global political objective" ("Vospominaniya o Vladimire Iliche Lenine"

[Recollections About Vladimir Il'ich Lenin]. In five volumes. Vol. 2, Moscow, 1979, pp 140-141).

In fighting opportunism on tactical problems, Lenin defended the central problem, which remains of great contemporary importance: the leading role of the party in the class struggle. In accordance with Lenin's profoundly Marxist concept, the role of the party is not reduced in the least to mechanically following the historical process. Scientifically assessing objective trends and requirements in the development of society and the deployment of class forces at one stage of another, the political party of the working class can and must contribute to the growth of the struggle of the working class and to its results through its active efforts.

Lenin's concept of the First Russian Revolution is a complex system of theoretical summations, historical analyses and political conclusions developing in the course of a sharp ideological struggle and based on the creative application of the Marxist dialectical method to revolutionary events in Russia. The main directions followed in Lenin's analysis and summations were the prerequisites and reasons for the revolution, its major motive forces, dynamics, stages, forms, methods, strategy and tactics of the struggle waged by the party and classes, and the results, historical place and significance of the revolution in terms of the fate of Russia and the rest of the world.

Lenin developed his views of the revolution over a long period of time, addressing himself to its prerequisites and history in hundreds of works. As a whole, the age of the first storming of autocracy was the subject of the largest number of works in Lenin's legacy compared to his analysis of other problems of Russian history. Claims found in literature to the effect that Lenin allegedly developed the concept of the revolution sometime between January and June 1905 or else that he completed its formulation in January 1917 in his "Report on the 1905 Revolution," as well as "locating" the full presentation of the concept in a single Leninist work are groundless and erroneous.

The basic understanding of the forthcoming revolution, its tasks, nature and deployment of class forces, including the ideas of the hegemony of the proletariat, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the antirevolutionism of the bourgeoisie and notes on the tactics and need to make preparations for the armed uprising against autocracy as an inevitable form of struggle had been considered by Lenin even before the outbreak of the revolution and reflected in a number of his works. Predominant in them were essentially theoretical views on the forthcoming revolution, presented as forecasts. However, they were based on the Marxist analysis of the economics and deployment of class forces in Russia at the turn of the 20th century and the historical experience of the liberation struggle.

After 9 January 1905 Lenin concentrated his attention on the study of the specific outcome of the class struggle and on formulating the party's tactics, particularly in connection with the 3rd RSDWP Congress. At the time of the highest upsurge of the revolution (October-December 1905), Lenin wrote a number of important works in which the past revolution was analyzed as a whole



and in its most important trends, with the assumption that some of these articles will become the base for a summing-up essay on the history of the revolution. This plan, however, remained unfulfilled.

Between 1917 and 1920 Lenin once again repeatedly turned to the history of the First Russian Revolution and its universal historical significance, taking into consideration the victories of the February and October revolutions and the establishment of the Soviet regime.

Let us reemphasize the inseparable unity among theoretical, historical and political aspects in all of Lenin's works. He wrote them, above all, as a political thinker, who critically evaluated historical experience and drew profound summations and conclusions relative to resolving practical problems of the revolutionary struggle and its possible outcomes and prospects. A scientific approach and revolutionary passion were the slogans which guided Lenin in his large works ("Development of Capitalism in Russia," "What Is To Be Done?," "Two Tactics of the Social Democrats in the Democratic Revolution," "The Agrarian Program of the Social Democrats in the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907," "The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Worker Party" and "On the Statistics of Strikes in Russia"), and many articles, addresses and reports and brief yet profoundly meaningful sketches and excerpts ("A 1789 or 1848 Type Revolution?" and "Stages, Trends and Prospects of the Revolution").

Lenin interpreted the nature of the 1905-1907 Revolution, which occurred in Russia, which was developing along the capitalist way, at a time when the proletariat in the large countries was facing socialist tasks, as follows: in terms of its essential content, this was a bourgeois revolution. Economically, its purpose was to sweep off the vestiges of serfdom in the countryside; a bourgeois coup was objectively possible in a radical ("American"), reformist ("Prussian"), or any other "mixed" direction. The political purpose of the revolution was to destroy the rotten feudal-imperialist superstructure, autocracy above all, and to establish a democratic republic. Here as well, Lenin assumed, a variety of approaches were possible, ranging from a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry to bourgeois monarchy. Lenin accepted the possibility of the elimination of the monarchy in one fell swoop. However, he also saw the likelihood of taking a different road, in which autocracy could be finished off as a result of a lengthy struggle.

Three camps were active in the arena of the class struggle: autocracy, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat leading the revolutionary people. By virtue of the particular gravity of contradictions between the rightless and exploited people and the tsarist regime and the developing counterrevolutionism of the Russian bourgeoisie, the revolution turned out to be profoundly national and democratic. The most important characteristic of the first revolution, according to Lenin, was the existence within it of two social wars which reflected two series of heterogeneous contradictions: the nationwide struggle for a democratic Russia against the tsar, the bureaucracy and the landowners, and the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.



Hegemony among the democratic forces was assumed by the proletariat, which exerted a decisive influence on the course of the revolution through forms of struggle, such as strikes, armed uprisings and soviets of worker deputies. In this sense, Lenin pointed out, the revolution is proletarian.

In his consideration of the specific features of bourgeois development in Russia and taking the gravity of the agrarian problem into consideration, occasionally Lenin defined the First Revolution also as a bourgeois-peasant revolution, which had taken place "in an age of rather high development of capitalism throughout the world and relatively high development of capitalism in Russia" (op. cit., vol 20, p 20).

Unquestionably, in his study of the dynamics and forms of struggle and behavior of all classes and social forces in 1905-1907, Lenin considered as the basic and most distinguishing feature of the revolution--a thought which runs throughout all of his works, including those dedicated to the study of the agrarian problem--the role played by the proletariat, which had outstandingly proven itself at that time. A certain noncoincidence between the nature of the revolution as a bourgeois revolution and the motive forces (the proletariat and the peasantry) had ascribed to the 1905-1907 revolutionary struggle a specific feature which blocked any mechanical comparison with 18th- and 19th-century revolutions.

Lenin assessed a bourgeois coup as entirely necessary and an objectively matured stage in the country's development. It was within it that the objective and subjective prerequisites for a socialist revolution, toward which one should aspire, were growing and intensifying. The proletariat should not tie itself to one outcome or another of the democratic revolution. However, the transition to a direct struggle for socialism would be the faster the more completely the proletariat and the mutinied people were able to resolve the problems of the first stage. Should the revolution end with a deal between the tsar and the bourgeoisie, this would mean, Lenin emphasized, the continuing "poisoning of the people's organism through the slow decay of the surviving parasite of monarchic power" (op. cit., vol 11, p 227).

Lenin continually developed his understanding of the First Russian Revolution. In his works written during the prerevolutionary period and at the start of 1905 he had made many new contributions to the Marxist theory of the revolution on questions such as the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, the growth of the bourgeois into a socialist revolution, the role of the proletariat in the revolution and its attitude toward the other classes.

As events developed, and as new facts and circumstances were made clear, he refined a number of interpretations of essential aspects and phenomena in the revolution. Thus, the overall assessment of the First Russian Revolution as a bourgeois revolution was subsequently concretized and enriched: the revolution was defined as people's, democratic, bourgeois-peasant in nature, proletarian-peasant in terms of motive forces and proletarian in terms of means of struggle. The theory of the two possible ways of development of a country after a revolution--the "Prussian" and the "American"--appeared. The general concept of the hegemony of the proletariat was concretized in the

formula that the proletariat is the leader of the peasantry. In the wake of the stormy events of October-December 1905, Lenin described the liberals not as members of the opposition but as counterrevolutionaries. The demand for the return of parts of the land was replaced in the bolshevik agrarian reform with the slogan of nationalization of the land. Lenin repeatedly refined the nature and assessment of individual events and phenomena, such as the soviets of worker deputies, the armed uprising, the boycott of Witte's Duma, etc.

The striking distinction between Lenin's concepts and the theories formulated by his ideological opponents was based on his profound understanding of the revolution as an exceptionally complex and conflicting period in social life, the creative application of Marxism to specific Russian conditions, the consideration of the new international situation, the exclusive comprehensiveness of his analysis, his historicism and his scientific method used in contrasting and comparing historical phenomena. Many of Lenin's opponents enjoyed at that time the high reputation of professional theoreticians and specialists in the social sciences and some were leaders of parties or political trends. Suffice it to name Plekhanov, Martov, Struve, Milyukov, Maslov, Blanc, Kieseewetter and others.

In the course of the ideological and intraparty struggle, Lenin focused his attention on criticizing menshevik historical concepts and tactical designs which, essentially, constituted the liberal line in the labor movement.

The menshevik concept of the First Russian Revolution was based on a fatalistic view of the predetermination and inevitability of the lengthy stage of its bourgeois development. Conclusions on the socioeconomic situation in the country were largely based on lifeless analogies and comparisons with the experience of bourgeois revolutions of the past and essentially ignored the characteristics of the age and of the deployment of class forces in Russia at the turn of the 20th century. Rejection of proletarian hegemony and the party's active role, belittling the revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry and ignoring the need for an alliance between them and the working class; belief in the revolutionism of the Russian bourgeoisie and its ability to lead; and pseudoscientific considerations, once again based on Western experience, of the inevitability of a "Thermidor" in backward Russia, should a radical victory of the revolution take place, were the basic aspects of the menshevik concept of the 1905-1907 Revolution.

The tactical line of the mensheviks involved a conscious refusal to lead the struggle of the proletariat to the full victory of the democratic revolution, support of the opposition efforts of the liberal bourgeoisie and rejection of the need for practical preparations for armed uprising.

The tactical platform of the menshevik theoreticians was based on a most serious opportunistic fault: the non-Marxist view of the role of the party in social development and of its functions, possibilities and purposes in the revolutionary struggle. In the works of menshevik theoreticians the party's main tasks and functions were considered to be reverence of the spontaneous struggle under the flag of "development of independent activities" by the proletariat, rejection of the principles of centralism and discipline and reliance on educational activities based on the alleged impossibility of

organizing anything in the course of the revolution. Naturally, therefore, the task of leading the working class by the party in the struggle for the victory of the revolution removed the opportunists from the agenda. The mensheviks, Lenin wrote, "belittle the materialistic understanding of history by their ignorance of the efficient, leading and guiding role which parties aware of the material conditions for a coup d'etat and heading the progressive classes could and should play in history" (op. cit., vol 11, p 31).

The origin of such views which belittle the party's role, he pointed out, may be traced to the theories of the revisionist Bernstein and the Russian economists ("Economic Struggle for the Workers and Political Struggle for the Bourgeoisie"). The mensheviks uncritically transferred the experience of the European social democrats, who operated during a time of peace, to the conditions of revolutionary Russia. Their concept of the revolution, Lenin emphasized, is, in terms of its methodology, a caricature of Marxism. In practical political terms it led, in the tactical area, to putting the cause of the revolution into the hands of the inconsistent self-seeking bourgeoisie.

Plekhanov's lofty words on the role of the proletariat in the 1905 Revolution and even his statement on hegemony were actually hanging in the air, for they were merely antipopulist, i.e., no more than an acknowledgment of the fact that it was not the peasantry which was the leading social class but the proletariat. The starting point of many basic differences between bolshevism and menshevism could always be found in their different assessments of the role of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution, rather than in differences in their views on the bourgeoisie and the peasantry, as is sometimes claimed in a number of studies.

In their characterization of the motive forces of the revolution at its given stage, the menshevik leaders assigned the main role to the struggle between two forces: the autocracy and the bourgeoisie. They claimed that the time for direct proletarian struggle for socialist ideas had not arrived and that the peasantry would become revolutionary only after the bourgeoisie had met its own class assignments and turned into a counterrevolutionary force. According to the mensheviks, the proletariat, therefore, should find itself in the position of "extreme left opposition," with a view to urging on the bourgeoisie to fight, and even such a pressure should be exerted quite cautiously. This actually rejected the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, belittled the revolutionary possibilities of the peasantry and denied the need for an alliance between the proletariat and this tremendous force.

Let us emphasize the fact that Lenin by no means ignored the historical experience of bourgeois revolutions. He was perfectly familiar with it and used it extensively in his works.

Unlike that of the menshevik, Lenin's view of the First Russian Revolution harmoniously combined both the general laws of bourgeois revolutions (the need to destroy the monarchy and eliminate the economic and political vestiges of feudalism, the general democratic content of the liberation movement, the need for an alliance with the bourgeois democratic movement, etc.), with the essential features of the revolution itself, as a revolution of a new type



which developed at the turn of the 20th century (the proletariat as the hegemonistic factor of the revolution, the existence of a revolutionary Marxist party, the gravity of the agrarian and national problems, the counterrevolutionism of the bourgeoisie, the closeness between the democratic and socialist stages and the new international conditions).

In his works on the 1905-1907 Revolution, Lenin mercilessly criticized theories which provided an unscientific interpretation of the nature and motive forces of the revolution as though from "leftist" positions, ignoring general laws. Thus, the SR program and tactics were based on a denial of the bourgeois nature of the revolution. They abounded in pseudosocialist definitions and demands for the "socialization of society."

Within the social democratic movement, the mensheviks Parvus and Trotskiy formulated the theory of the "permanent revolution." According to this theory, the Russian revolution was considered a purely "urban" worker revolution, for, allegedly, the peasantry acted as a revolutionary force while the bourgeoisie was a political "zero," being totally dependent on autocracy. That is why, according to Trotskiy, only two forces were at odds in the 1905 Revolution--autocracy and the proletariat--which, in case of victory, should assume the power (hence the slogan "No Tsar But a Worker Government"). The victorious worker government would inevitably develop ownership relations. It would clash with the backwardness of the country and a peasant Vendee, and would inevitably perish unless helped by the Western socialist proletariat, organized as a state. In this menshevik platform, concealed behind "revolutionary" phraseology, the stages of the proletarian struggle were mixed; there was no clear study of the specific reality, role and possibilities of political forces in the revolution.

Trotskiy later claimed that the Leninist concept of the revolution and the bolshevik tactics were, allegedly, "bourgeois-limited," and that in 1917 Lenin and the bolsheviks had adopted his theory which, as early as 1905, had called for a "worker dictatorship." This was a most extreme fabrication. During the first revolution, Lenin and the bolsheviks struggled for the practical implementation of the entire party program. They included in their activities both the propaganda of socialism and the organization of the struggle against capitalism. In the bolshevik understanding, two social wars had to be and were waged simultaneously--against the autocracy and against the urban and rural bourgeoisie.

"Philistine virtuosos" was the way Lenin described the menshevik theoreticians who scholastically structured the stages of the revolution in such a way that initially a struggle had to be waged against the monarchy, as a result of which the bourgeois would come to power; then would come the turn of the petite bourgeoisie and only then that of the proletariat. Everything is intertwined in life, Lenin emphasized, and the social democrat must always maintain his independent strictly class-oriented positions and be aware of the end socialist objectives of the struggle. However, specific political tasks must be proclaimed on the basis of real possibilities. At this stage, priority must be given to democratic tasks, taking into consideration the nature of the revolution and the possibilities of the working class. "...In answer to the objections of the anarchists who claim that we are postponing a



socialist coup d'etat," Lenin wrote, "we say the following. We are not postponing it but are taking the first step toward it using the only possible method and following the only true way, i.e., the way of a democratic republic. Those who would like to follow a path to socialism other than that of political democracy would inevitably draw stupid and reactionary economic and political conclusions" (op. cit., vol 11, p 16).

In directing the proletariat in the struggle against the urban and rural bourgeoisie and allowing for the general historical possibility of intertwining the solution of problems which arise at different stages in the course of the real class struggle, in his works Lenin pointed out the true prerequisites leading to the growth of the democratic into a socialist revolution. These prerequisites, along with the elements of growth, are objective factors, such as proletarian hegemony, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, the regrouping of class forces on the basis of two social wars and international interaction and reciprocal support of the revolution in Russia by the international proletariat. The degree of conscientiousness and organization reached by the proletariat in the course of its struggle against autocracy and the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary tactics of the party and its ideological and organizational activities "from below" and "from above" in guiding the proletarian struggle, including the struggle for isolating the bourgeoisie, are major subjective factors for the growth of the democratic into a socialist revolution.

In Lenin's assessment, the main political result of the First Russian Revolution was the fact that the country's proletariat assumed the role of vanguard of the entire liberation movement. Never before had strikes developed to such an unparalleled extent in any developed country in the world, having such a tremendous impact on the entire society, the peasant masses and the army in particular. The general political strike and mass armed struggle to which the working class, led by the party, resorted for the first time in history on such a grandiose scale, forced the tsar to grant freedoms which the proletariat and the social democrats used in the preparations for armed uprisings and for engaging in extensive legal propaganda.

The revolutionary creativity of the masses brought to life a totally new political form of organization--the soviets of worker, peasant and soldier deputies. In a number of cases, the soviets, which had appeared for purposes of organizing the strikes and the armed struggle, became organs of revolutionary power and embryos of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship.

Unlike the workers, the peasants and some segments of the armed forces, which dealt tangible strikes at autocracy, and frightened by the scope of the revolution, in the course of 1905 the bourgeoisie tried to make deals with the government, making a turn to the right and, after the December armed uprising, becoming a counterrevolutionary force.

It was the Russian proletariat alone which fought the revolutionary battles most stubbornly and, as Lenin emphasized, assumed during the years of revolution "a hegemonistic role in the struggle for freedom and democracy as a

prerequisite for the struggle for socialism. It provided all oppressed and exploited classes in Russia with the ability to wage a new revolutionary struggle, a struggle which nothing major in the progress of mankind had ever been achieved in the world" (op. cit., vol 19, p 371).

The truly revolutionary activities of the bolsheviks were of tremendous assistance in allowing the working class to assume a vanguard role. For the first time in history the Marxist party of a new type headed the struggle of the proletariat on the basis of a scientific program, strategy and tactics adopted at the 3rd Congress. The bolsheviks marched with the working class and were in its midst in January when the masses followed Gapon with faith in the tsar, and at the barricades in December 1905. During the period of the revolution the party became a mass party. By the end of 1906 it had less than 10,000 members; in the middle of 1907 its ranks had increased several-fold, which reflected the desire of the conscious members of the working class to join the ranks of the revolutionary party.

Although for a number of reasons (insufficient scope, coordination and organization of proletarian activities as a whole and its individual elements; lack of coordination between the revolutionary actions of workers and peasants; absence of a single leadership; an international situation favorable to tsarism, etc.) the First Russian Revolution failed to achieve its objectives, Lenin rated its importance highly. It marked a new stage in the world revolutionary movement, the beginning of an age of storms and revolutions which put the Russian working class and the Bolshevik Party in the center of the liberation movement. The revolution had a comprehensive significance to Russia and its classes as a school of struggle and booster of the political and economic development of the country. The "dress rehearsal," without which the victory of the February and October revolutions would have been impossible, was the highest of Lenin's assessments of the significance of the 1905-1907 period.

Lenin believed that the 1905-1907 revolution had failed to resolve its main problems. He pointed out the need for a critical study of its experience and lessons as an absolute prerequisite for waging a new successful struggle for democratic Russia and socialism. The tragedy of the forthcoming struggle and the assessment of its motive forces and revolutionary traditions were to remain essentially unchanged. "Our party," he wrote, "firmly holds the viewpoint that the role of the proletariat is that of leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and that its completion requires the joint actions of the proletariat and the peasantry and that without the seizure of political power by the revolutionary classes no victory is possible" (op. cit., vol 17, p 340).

The mensheviks summed up the results of the revolution differently. Plekhanov, Martov and Aksel'rod, the menshevik "classics," saw as the main reason for its defeat the fact that the proletariat had used extreme forms of struggle urged on by the bolsheviks headed by Lenin, which had repelled "society." Nevertheless, according to the mensheviks, the appearance of the state Duma established an essentially constitutional system in Russia and marked the advent of a period for "organic work" by the social democrats, for the revolution was no longer on the agenda.

The experience of the stormy 1905 was considered an example of "what not to do." Trotskiy made a pessimistic assessment of the results of the revolution. He claimed that it was a waste of effort and that its failure was due to the fact that autocracy, supported by the world stock markets, had very successfully used peasants in army overcoats against workers. Henceforth, he proclaimed, a democratic revolution in Russia is impossible and a socialist revolution can win only with the support of a European socialist proletariat in power.

History passed its sentence on such doctrines 10 years later. A democratic revolution won in Russia in February 1917. Several months later it grew into a victorious socialist revolution. The fact that the 1917 events developed essentially precisely the way Lenin had predicted and not at all according to menshevik forecasts was largely related to the fact that the working class and the bolsheviks had creatively used the experience and lessons of the First Russian Revolution.

One of the most important lessons of the revolution was the discovery of the obvious need to strengthen the party's leading role and its ideological and organizational work among the masses even further, with a view to increasing the effectiveness of the struggle. Such a role could be performed only by a revolutionary party of a new type--the Bolshevik Party.

The daring and clearly formulated task set by Lenin, which the party was called upon to implement, "learning revolution," was of tremendous importance to the world proletariat, as had been the practical experience of bolshevism and the working class in 1905-1907. During the First Russian Revolution an entire set of dogmas which had developed within the Second International were rejected as a result of the live practice of the movement: the leading position of the bourgeoisie in the democratic revolution, the reactionary nature of the peasantry, the need for the majority of the population to become proletarian as a prerequisite for its hegemony and struggle for socialism, the danger of using general strikes as a weapon in the revolutionary struggle, the futility of armed uprisings by the working class given the contemporary level of development of armaments, etc. The practical experience gained by the bolsheviks during the revolution and the means and methods of propaganda and agitation it used, its struggle against war, unemployment and lockouts, organizational and military-combat work, activities within the soviets, the trade unions and the Duma, and the tactic of unity of revolutionary forces while preserving its ideological principles, were of great importance.

The 1905-1907 Revolution was destined to become one of the turning points in the history of the contemporary world and the global revolutionary process. The struggle waged by the workers in Russia triggered the upsurge of the proletarian movement in European and American countries and accelerated the establishment of a left wing within the parties belonging to the Second International. It provided a powerful impetus to the development of the national liberation movement and contributed to the outbreak of a number of democratic revolutions--in Iran, Turkey and China--and to the growth of the liberation struggle in colonial countries.

The history of the first people's revolution in Russia remains an inexhaustible source of creative inspiration and upbringing and a school of political struggle for the new generations of revolutionary fighters. The ideological-political legacy of the First Russian Revolution may be clearly traced in all class and liberation battles of the 20th century and, above all, in the course of the people's democratic and socialist revolutions of the 1940s, which led to the founding of the global socialist system, as well as in the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Regardless of the entire variety of its specific forms and manifestations, everywhere the struggle for social and national liberation raised the same profound questions which the Russian proletariat and the Bolshevik Party had to answer during the first and the subsequent revolutions.

As Lenin pointed out, purging capitalism of its antidemocratic features "will last until it dies" (op. cit., vol 20, p 132). That is why the great treasury of Leninist ideas formulated in the course of the scientific-theoretical analysis and summation of the lessons of the First Russian Revolution remains the priceless possession of the international communist and worker movements. The influence of these immortal ideas is manifested in the formulation of the fundamental conclusions of the Leninist science of the revolution formulated in Marxist-Leninist theory in terms of contemporary conditions. This applies to the problems of the general and the specific in the revolutionary struggle, the current increasingly close intertwining of democratic with socialist problems, improving the ways and means of their implementation, elaborating programs for profound changes during the transitional period, rallying around the working class the mass forces in a broad alliance, making them realize the need for a socialist revolution, to the dialectics of national and international aspects of the revolutionary process, etc.

The experience and traditions of the Russian working class and its revolutionary party have been studied, creatively applied and multiplied by generations of fighters for democracy, national liberation and socialism. Today as well, in the final quarter of the 20th century, the extremely rich lessons of the struggle of 1905-1907 and Lenin's theoretical conclusions and assessments, the creative interpretation of which contributes to the deeper understanding of the laws and characteristics of the liberation movement and its present successes, have not lost their significance.

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## CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS ARE LAW TO THE SUPPLIER

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[Article by A. Lebed', USSR Gosstab deputy chairman]

[Text] The choice of the most efficient trends in the development of the national economy, the main aspect of which allow the rapid intensive progress of the country's economy, was considered one of the imminent tasks in improving planning and management at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

It was pointed out that the program for comprehensive improvements in management, a program which must be fully consistent with the requirements of developed socialism, should call for upgrading the efficiency of the sum total of economic levers and incentives in the economic mechanism, including price setting, the credit-financial system, methods for assessing results of economic activities, etc.

In addressing the 15 November 1984 CPSU Central Committee Politburo session on the forthcoming consideration of the draft 1985 plan by the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said: "Today priority is given to the task of organizing efficient and purposeful work for the implementation of everything planned. The question is formulated as follows: the plan must be strictly fulfilled and, wherever possible and necessary, overfulfilled. Maximal efforts must be made to upgrade production efficiency. Naturally, rhythmical work and the strict observance of contractual procurement obligations must be ensured. Let us point out that over the past 2 years the situation in this area has improved somewhat. The task, however, is to achieve the full and comprehensive implementation of contracts."

The development of the socialist economy, the steady increase in output, the broadening of economic relations and their multiplication complicate the problem of ensuring uninterrupted supplies to the national economy of material resources in quantities and varieties needed by the individual consumers, within the stipulated deadlines. Therefore, the indicator of fulfilling assignments and obligations related to commodity procurements assumes priority in assessing the activities of production, procurement-marketing and trade associations, enterprises and organizations.

Efforts directly to relate the implementation of procurements to assessing the results of enterprise economic activities have been made in the past as well. This has always required the elimination of obsolete concepts shared by some managers of industrial ministries and production enterprises, who were accustomed to the fulfillment of plans based on gross and overall volume of output. In 1974 the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab and USSR Central Statistical Administration were issued instructions on the procedure for recording and assessing the activities of production associations (combines) and enterprises in the implementation of procurement assignments and obligations. They stipulated that the plan for the volume of marketed output would be considered fulfilled if obligations relative to procurements of goods in the stipulated variety, based on concluded contracts, were observed. These instructions, however, did not contain a developed mechanism for the application of the new rating system, for which reason at that time they were not developed.

A procedure was introduced in 1977-1978 according to which enterprise material incentive funds and the material incentive of workers were made directly dependent on the implementation of procurement obligations. In particular, stricter conditions were applied in the case of managing workers' right to bonuses based on basic results of economic activities. The procedure was subsequently improved.

The Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990 stipulated the need to develop progressive forms and methods of production-economic relations among associations, enterprises, material and technical supply agencies, and transportation and other organizations, and intensifying their reciprocal material responsibility for the prompt and qualitative implementation of planned assignments and obligations for procurements and transportation of goods, based on consumer requests and long-term contracts.

The 11 April 1983 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Serious Shortcomings in the Observance of Contractual Obligations for Commodity Deliveries and Improving the Responsibility of Ministries, Departments and Enterprises in This Area" was of decisive importance in strengthening procurement discipline.

These steps significantly increased the responsibility of economic managers for the qualitative rather than merely quantitative aspect of commodity production and procurements. Results were not late in coming. In 1983 the level of fulfillment of procurements reached 97.9 percent; it exceeded 99 percent in a number of ministries (Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, Gas Industry and USSR Meat and Dairy Industry).

In the first 10 months of 1984 the production associations and enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, Ministry of Power Machine Building, Ministry of Automotive Industry, and Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building significantly improved their contractual deliveries, exceeding the 99 percent level.

Compared with the same period in 1983, during the first 10 months of 1984 the quantity of underdelivered commodities by enterprises declined by a factor of approximately 8 for the Ministry of Power Machine Building, a factor of 5 for the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building and a factor of 2 for the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry and Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building.

Many production associations and enterprises have organized their work in such a way that the implementation of contractual procurements has become a law in their activities. In the first 11 months of 1984 the Zhdanov Plant for Heavy Machine Building of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the Elektromashina Plant of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry in Kharkov, the Confectionery Factory imeni K. Marx of the Ukrainian Ministry of Food Industry in Kiev, the Combines Plant imeni K. Ye. Voroshilov of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building in Dnepropetrovsk, the Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Kozlov of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry in Minsk, the worsted combine of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Light Industry in Minsk, the meat combine in Donetsk and the dairy combine of the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry in Yerevan successfully coped with their deliveries.

As the indicator of enterprise implementation of assignments and obligations on procurement deliveries becomes basic in assessing their activities, the role of the economic contract increases not only as a tool for the implementation of procurement plans but also as a means of drafting production plans. The regulations on the procurement of items for production-technical purposes and consumer goods stipulate that their deliveries must be based exclusively on contracts, except in cases stipulated by the USSR Council of Ministers or the councils of ministers of union republics. As the basic document which defines the rights and obligations of the parties in the delivery of all types of commodities, whether distributed on a planned basis or not, the contract contributes to the fuller satisfaction of the needs of consumer enterprises for necessary commodities in the necessary expanded variety and to improving the quality of produced goods. Long-term contracts, concluded for the period covered by the five-year plans for economic and social development of production enterprises with direct long-term economic relations among them or with marketing and procurement organizations, are of particular importance.

Five-year contracts on the organization of material and technical procurements, concluded between consumers and USSR Gosplan organs, play a substantial role in meeting the needs of consumers.

The contracts call for guaranteed comprehensive supplies, additional services requested by the consumer, in terms of volume and variety, in preparing the goods for industrial use, centralized commodity procurements based on coordinated schedules, deliveries of technical facilities, marketing of above-norm and unused material values and loans from warehouses should goods in transit be delayed. Such contracts account for about one-third of the entire volume of procurements handled by procurement and marketing organizations.

After allocating material stocks and distributing them among consumers and issuing plans for commodity procurements (long-term assignment, orders and shipment plans), directly or through orders and specifications, the contracts stipulate the deadlines, varieties, grades, and comprehensiveness of goods subject to procurements.

The interests of the consumer can be secured only with the accurate implementation of the contract. The consumer does not need abstract tons (cubic meters) or knowledge of production costs but specific items with proper technical specifications, delivered within a specific time. Round or cast iron pipes should not be used as substitutes for hexagonal or stainless steel pipes, for this results in labor losses, weight overruns, worsened quality of finished products or simply the unusability of such substitutes.

With their 11 April 1983 decree on observing contractual obligations for commodity procurements, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers demanded of economic, party and soviet organs to bring strict order and discipline in the observance of contractual commodity procurements.

However, as the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out, "this essential problem remains unresolved. Stricter demands have been formulated toward economic managers for the implementation of contracts and orders. This is indeed the case. Nevertheless, 'loopholes' remain, which allow for payment of bonuses despite the incomplete implementation of procurement assignments."

Although the indicator of fulfillment of contractual obligations is considered a most important one, as in the past in some areas and ministries enterprise successes continue to be judged only on the basis of the implementation of the plan for the overall production volume and marketing.

A large number of enterprises continue to fulfill and overfulfill their plans for the overall volume of goods marketed while violating the implementation of procurements based on contracts. This is largely due to the production of less labor-intensive and more expensive goods or goods not ordered by consumers. Raw materials, electric and thermal energy and manpower are expended for such commodities because they are profitable to the producer (in tons and rubles). The sole loser turns out to be the consumer. An investigation indicated that in a number of cases producers resort to "pressure" in urging consumers to accept unordered goods, which legitimizes the procurers' claim of having fulfilled the contract (the order). Such "fulfillers" of orders include the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, which, although fulfilling its marketing plan for the first 10 months of 1984, failed to deliver 172,000 tons of finished rolled metal goods as ordered (as contracted for), although its books are entirely in order.

Another imperfect indicator so far is the one currently used for the implementation of procurement obligations. The point is that the level of implementation of such obligations is defined on a general basis, by deducting the cost of output, which was either not supplied or delivered in violation of contractual stipulations, from the planned volume of marketing, which includes the cost of finished and semifinished goods produced by the enterprise during the period of accountability (including auxiliary and support items, steam,



water and other services), as well as secondary industrial operations, capital construction and enterprise nonindustrial facilities. This artificially raises the degree of implementation of procurement obligations.

With a view to ensuring the more accurate determination of the implementation of such obligations, we must have a plan indicator for the volume of output subject to contractual deliveries and which, after subtracting the volume of production shortfalls, would reflect more completely the actual implementation of contractual delivery obligations.

The 1981 instruction "On the Procedure for Recording the Implementation of Assignments and Obligations for Deliveries of Output and Commodities in Accordance With Concluded Contracts in Assessing the Activities and Determining the Economic Incentives for Production, Procurement-Marketing and Trade Associations, Enterprises and Organizations" gave ministries and departments the right to set up for subordinate associations, enterprises and organizations percentages of underfulfillment of assignments and obligations related to procurements, which, if exceeded, would deprive the leading personnel of all bonuses based on basic results of economic activities; in the case of lesser underfulfillments reduced bonuses would be paid out. The "maximal figure" should not exceed 2 or, in exceptional cases, 3 percent. A mandatory prerequisite for receiving a bonus, regardless of the percentage, is the full implementation of deliveries of individual types of commodities for production-technical purposes of most important national economic significance, based on a list approved by the USSR Gosstab.

Unfortunately, many heads of ministries and enterprises took this to mean the legitimizing of the right not to fulfill procurement plan assignments based on contracts and orders 100 percent, the more so since a maximal percentage had been established for a significant number of enterprises. This view was justifiably criticized at the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Currently, together with other departments, the USSR Gosstab has drafted proposals on the application of stricter conditions under which leading personnel in associations, enterprises and organizations may receive bonuses.

In our view, it would be expedient to abandon the system of a "predetermined" fixed percentage of underfulfillment of procurement obligations. Having determined that the bonus can be based only on the basis of the full 100 percent fulfillment of contractual obligations, ministers and department managers should be granted the right to allow in exceptional cases the payment of a specified percentage of the bonus, up to 50 percent, for example, in cases of insignificant underfulfillment of procurements by enterprises for legitimate reasons and without culpability (natural catastrophes, breakdowns, lack of raw materials, etc.).

The implementation of contractual obligations is directly related to the quality of plans. Above all, the plan must be balanced. A balanced plan is an effective manual for action, which mobilizes the collective. A realistic stressed plan makes the enterprise's management and entire collective confident. We must point out that many enterprises and associations fulfill their marketing and variety plans in accordance with contracts. They include

the overwhelming majority of enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, Ministry of Medical Industry, Ministry of Gas Industry, USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry and many others.

What are the means used in ensuring the successful implementation of contractual procurements? This applies, above all, to organizational work within the collective of associations and enterprises and informing shops and brigades of plans and assignments. The procurement and complementing services, which are familiar with the plan, could order and obtain raw materials, materials and complementing items on time and create the necessary temporary stockpiles in the warehouses. In turn, by coordinating their work with the USSR Gosplan, union main supply and marketing administrations, they can determine at the proper time the sequence of procurements, order transport facilities, settle financial relations with the customers and organize daily control. Incidentally, many associations and enterprises have organized their entire order control system with the help of ASU [automated control systems]. They receive on a daily basis (or as needed) information which is used by the management of the association or enterprise for current investigations of the implementation of orders and enables them promptly to intervene in the development of events and eliminate bottlenecks. If production and labor discipline is high, if there is a constant relationship with one's partners and if economic ties are strengthened and the reciprocal implementation of obligations is ensured, the level of commodity procurements in the national economy becomes high. Conversely, with unbalanced plans unrelated to the plans of related enterprises and transportation organizations, procurement obligations break down.

It is for that precise reason that enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry, Ministry of Chemical Industry, USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry and Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building are not fulfilling their contractual procurement and order plans satisfactorily. In addition to internal reasons (many enterprises are not supplied with raw materials because of the poor work of timber procurement personnel, the resources of procurement workers who plan procurements are not established in advance, the level of equipment utilization is low, etc.), major circumstances exist in the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing, which hinder the work for reasons independent of the ministry itself. Let us take as an example the balancing of procurements of timber materials with the railroad transportation plan. Plans for transportation by water and truck are coordinated, whereas the USSR Gosplan railroad haulage plan remained unbalanced by 12 percent. Therefore, nonfulfillment of procurements has been made part of the plan. If we take into consideration the fact that over the past 15 years the ministry has been unable to fulfill its plans for timber haulage, the question of the responsibility for breakdowns in delivery of timber to consumers, based on contracts and orders, cannot be resolved without involving the ministry in this operation.

The investigation of the implementation of the 11 April 1983 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on observing contractual obligations, which were made in 1983 in several parts of the country--the Armenian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Kazakh SSR, South Ural territorial area and the

Bashkir ASSR, brought to light a number of violations and shortcomings committed both by production associations and procurement enterprises as well as organizations engaged in material and technical procurements, transport enterprises, etc.

In 1983 139 enterprises in the Armenian SSR failed to fulfill their contractual procurement obligations; 109 of them fulfilled their plans for the overall volume of production marketing, although falling short of supplying goods worth 78.8 million rubles. They included the RTI Plant in Yerevan, the Armkhimmash Production Association, the Chemical Fibers Plant in Kirovakan, the Zakavkazkabel' Association and others.

Major shortcomings in the implementation of contractual obligations were exposed in the Azerbaijan SSR. For the sake of objectivity let us note that thanks to the implementation of a number of measures, the fulfillment of the procurement plan based on contracts and orders improved in 1983, reaching 98.2 percent, or roughly 2 percent higher than the 1982 level. Nevertheless, 159 enterprises failed to fulfill their obligations based on contracts and orders worth 193.5 million rubles.

The violation of contractual obligations here increased above-norm surpluses of normed working capital for 1 July 1983 by 17.2 percent for enterprises under the republic's council of ministers alone; surpluses in finished products increased by 12.2 percent and of production reserve stocks by 5.3 percent. Compared to the corresponding period in 1982, in the first half of 1983 overall stockpiles of uninstalled equipment had increased by a factor of 1.3.

A number of enterprises of the ministries of Ferrous Metallurgy, Nonferrous Metallurgy, Chemical Industry, Coal Industry, Construction Materials Industry and several others in the Kazakh SSR were investigated. Here procurement breakdowns are caused by the delayed assimilation of capacities, equipment idling caused by breakdowns, scarcity of skilled cadres and worsened raw material quality (Karaganda Metallurgical Combine, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Industry; Karaganda RTI Plant and Chimkentshina Association, USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, Aktyubinsk Chemical Plant imeni S. M. Kirov, Ministry of Chemical Industry; Kaztyazhpromarmatura Association and the armature plants in Semipalatinsk and Uralsk, Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building). The cement plants of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry are violating procurement variety by producing more "profitable" slag Portland cements and significantly smaller amounts of the more efficient Portland cements.

An investigation of fulfillment of the plan for contractual deliveries at the South Ural territorial area revealed procurement failures due not only to reasons of plan-production, transport and procurement-marketing nature but also gross violations of state discipline and shortcomings in the organization of control.

Thus, the Magnitogorsk and Chelyabinsk metallurgical combines of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy are engaged in extensive trading in metal

allocated to them for repair-operational requirements, tires, cables, spare parts for automobiles, lacquer and dye materials, pumps and other items.

Such "exchange" activities have become a major problem in our national economy. This problem is largely related to the fact that the planning authorities fail to balance production plants with allocations of resources for material and technical supplies (particularly in terms of variety). Thus, for example, the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry is allocated wood for repair-operational requirements for repairing housing and sociocultural projects, road construction, bridge repairs and other purposes.

The poor norming of material outlays is another reason for such phenomena. Ministries set up norms higher than necessary due to the lack of strict financial supervision of stockpiling. As a result, although contractual deliveries were not met in full in 1983, in January 1984 surpluses of rolled metal and timber and other materials turned out to be higher than at the start of the previous year.

It also happens sometimes that planned assignments and varieties are changed, at which point ordered raw materials, materials and items remain unused. This makes somewhat legitimate the suggestion of allowing free exchanges. Obviously, exchanges are allowed but only of identical goods, under the supervision of the USSR Gosplan organs in charge of procurements and in the course of the implementation of the plan. Exchange procedures should be simplified maximally, for at present they remain complex. However, it is inadmissible to engage in the type exchanges which would essentially correspond to the equivalent of free trade.

Unbalanced intraministerial cooperation has resulted in substantial procurement shortfalls among enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy (ferroalloys for smelting low-alloy and structural brands of steel, billets, ingots, rolled metal, coke, pig iron, etc.).

In violation of the stipulated order and without coordinating it with procurement and marketing authorities, said ministry lowers the production plans of its enterprises regardless of the fact that a number of resolutions, the 1979 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree in particular, condemned the faulty practice of reducing plans. It is precisely with a view to stopping such cases that the regulation on procurement deliveries stipulated that should production plans of associations and enterprises be amended without coordination with the USSR Gosplan or, by its instructions, the Union Main Marketing and Procurement Administrations or other such authorities in charge of marketing said output, the enterprises are not relieved of their responsibility for production shortfalls and that no changes in work orders may be made. Furthermore, the statistical organs do not accept changes in production plans made in violation of the stipulated order.

Metallurgical enterprises and those in other sectors justifiably complain of the large number of work orders issued for the procurement of small batches



(ranging from 1 to 10 tons), which hinders the process of consolidating such batches and causes shipment difficulties.

The study of data on shortcomings in the organization of small batch procurements indicates that the main difficulties in making such procurements and obtaining goods affect both suppliers and consumers when stocks are allocated to ministries and departments on a centralized basis and when union main marketing and procurement administrations issue group work orders for the entire allocated stock although not all kinds of output can be distributed by the stock owners among the consumers in accordance with shipment norms. As a result, in practice the work orders issued by procuring ministries are inconsistent with stipulated norms.

In turn, yielding to the persistent demands of the receivers, in issuing the needed commodities the USSR Gossnab territorial bodies themselves assign small consumers to manufacturers, which leads to the same type of transportation difficulties. Significant hardships arise in delivering machines and equipment which, as a rule, are not marketed through the USSR Gossnab organizations and are allocated to large numbers of consumers in small quantities. This applies to excavators, scrapers, bulldozers, tractors (not for agricultural use), machinery for communal purposes, etc. Currently, because of the refusal of transportation authorities to accept individual machines for shipment to consumers, in frequent cases the latter are forced to take delivery directly from the manufacturer and frequently transport them over thousands of kilometers using their own means.

The USSR Gossnab is constantly working to increase the number of minimal shipment norms which allow, under special conditions, the shipment of individual commodities, and tries to increase the volume of goods shipped to consumers to manufacturers, which leads to the same type of transportation difficulties. Significant hardships arise in delivering machines and equipment which, as a rule, are not marketed through the USSR Gossnab organizations and are allocated to large numbers of consumers in small quantities. This applies to excavators, scrapers, bulldozers, tractors (not for agricultural use), machinery for communal purposes, etc. Currently, because of the refusal of transportation authorities to accept individual machines for shipment to consumers, in frequent cases the latter are forced to take delivery directly from the manufacturer and frequently haul them over thousands of kilometers with their own facilities.

The USSR Gossnab is constantly working to increase the number of minimal shipment norms which allow, under special conditions, the shipment of individual commodities, and tries to increase the volume of goods shipped to consumers to meet freight car (container) standards. Since this is not always possible, steps are also being taken to broaden services to consumers in obtaining their allocated stocks through the territorial organs of the USSR Gossnab system and to help manufacturing enterprises in shipping out goods without routing.

Everyone is familiar with the advantages of the centralized procurement of goods from supplier to consumer based on coordinated schedules. In the Kazakh SSR, however, centralized procurements by enterprises from the republic

gossnab dropped by nearly 3 percent during the first 9 months of 1983 as a result of delays in unloading trucks by receivers.

Penalties for delays in loading and unloading operations must be increased and careless managers who allow the idling of transport facilities and, in the final account, violate procurement schedules, should be punished strictly.

Obviously, the nonfulfillment of procurement obligations may be the fault of the procurement enterprises or circumstances which are independent of its will or which it is unable to influence.

First of all, this means poor organization of the production process, violations of stock discipline (shipping goods without job orders, or giving priority to shipments "profitable" to consumers), and wasting goods as a result of exchanges and other violations of procurement obligations. In other cases this is related to the low quality of the initial raw materials, changes in production plans, failure on the part of suppliers to provide raw materials, materials and complementing goods, allocation of insufficient stocks and failure to secure transportation.

The elimination of these and other reasons which hinder the full implementation of contractual procurement obligations is the task of planning authorities, material and technical procurement bodies, ministries, associations and enterprises.

The liability assigned as of 1 January 1985 to associations, enterprises and organizations in cases of inefficient utilization of material resources has the same purpose--to create the necessary conditions which would enable associations and enterprises to fulfill their production programs and ensure the production of goods needed by the national economy. The instructions issued by the government to the USSR Gossnab, USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Finance and USSR Gosstroy stipulate, in particular, that fines double the value of resource overexpenditures will be levied in favor of the union budget from associations, enterprises and organizations in cases of overexpenditures of raw materials, fuel-energy and other material resources.

If such overexpenditures have occurred by the fault of the supplier who has shipped out raw materials, materials or other commodities in violation of contractual stipulations, the enterprise has the right to demand of the supplier a compensation for losses suffered from the payment of fines for overexpenditures.

Sanctions will also be applied against enterprises which use resources allocated on a planned basis for other than their specific purpose, such as the construction of unplanned projects, or resources allocated for the manufacturing of planned commodities for repair and operational needs or other purposes (including above-plan production of items with a limited market, the overfulfillment of the plan for which is forbidden), etc. In all such cases the enterprises will be levied fines equaling triple the value of misused material resources.

In order to increase the responsibility of manufacturing enterprises for the utilization of goods for industrial purposes and consumer goods for their own needs or for industrial processing over and above allocated stocks, or for shipping them (releasing them) to their own enterprises short of assets, said commodities and goods will not be considered part of the implementation of planned assignments in awarding bonuses or in setting up economic incentive funds; profits from such items will be confiscated in full in favor of the state budget.

It is believed that such measures will contribute to strengthening planning and contractual discipline and ensuring the economical and efficient utilization of material resources in production.

The new progressive technology, containerization and packaging in particular, plays an important role in improving material and technical supplies and procurements. We pay great attention to such transport technology which is being introduced at a significant pace. Compared with 1982, in 1983 freight transportation for the country at large increased by 8.8 percent for standardized containers and 29.6 percent for high tonnage containers; the volume of packaged freight increased by more than 6 percent. Containerized freight haulage increased by 15 percent and packaged freight by 16 percent shipped to the Extreme North; freight hauled in high-tonnage containers for export increased by 25.9 percent. Savings per 1 million tons of hauled containerized freight is expressed in increased labor productivity by a factor of 4-5 and a reduction of up to 1,500 workers; hauling losses decline by 1-3 percent; significant amounts of metal, timber and funds are saved. The work done in this connection by the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, USSR Ministry of Fish Industry, USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, Ministry of Automotive Industry and Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building deserve a good rating.

For example, the USSR Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry is successfully resolving the problem of packaging meat and dairy products, more than half of which were supplied to the national economy or exported packaged in 1983. Starting with 1984, all such goods shipped to the Extreme North will be packaged. Packaging is becoming a structural component of the technological production process at many large enterprises.

The USSR Ministry of Fish Industry has acquired interesting experience in the development of hauling packaged frozen fish products. It developed and has applied an efficient method for transporting frozen fish based on the specific features of the product, avoiding the use of flat wooden trays. In 1984 the ministry hauled 500,000 tons of frozen fish products using this progressive method, thus saving about 250,000 flat wooden trays the manufacturing of which would have required 25,000 cubic meters of timber. Savings totaled 2.7 million rubles.

The Ministry of Automotive Industry and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building are systematically developing in their sectors packet and container hauling of machine units, parts and spare parts. The share of such haulage amounts for approximately 90 percent of the total at the Ministry of Automotive Industry.

The USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry has achieved some positive results in shipping slate, bricks, heating radiators, pane glass, sanitary engineering items and some other materials in packages. In particular, these and many other types of freight are shipped to the Extreme North in packages only.

Unfortunately, however, not all ministries have taken the necessary steps to convert to the container-packaging transportation method.

The Ministry of Chemical Industry, USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, USSR Ministry of Food Industry, USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry and USSR Ministry of Procurement have fallen behind the overall pace of development in shipping packaged freight.

The Ministry of Chemical Industry failed to fulfill its assignment on manufacturing soft discardable containers and is sluggishly assimilating the capacities of imported equipment supplied for such purposes; it is not taking the necessary steps to develop the production of economical types of packaging, such as polypropylene tape and heat-shrinking and expanding films and is slow in developing packaged hauling in its sector. For many years the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry did virtually nothing to convert to packaged shipments of tractor tires, including those shipped to the Extreme North, transshipped in maritime and riverine ports, although the amount of such haulage is relatively low.

In 1983 the enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry received 15 percent more fruit and vegetable cases compared to 1982, although the increased volume of hauled fruits and vegetables in such cases was significantly smaller during that period.

The USSR Ministry of Procurement and USSR Ministry of Food Industry are sluggishly resolving problems of packaging flour and, particularly, mixed feeds and sugar in crystals, although an adequate amount of synthetic tape has been provided for such purposes.

Despite such shortcomings, compared with 1982, more than 25,000 workers were released and more than 1 million cubic meters of timber and 26,000 tons of rolled metal were saved by increasing shipments in containers and packages in 1983; production losses declined substantially, the mechanization of the work increased and freight procurements were speeded up.

The material and technical procurement bodies face major tasks in improving procurements in the national economy and ensuring the implementation of contractual procurement obligations. We must increase comprehensive supplies to consumers alongside the development of direct long-term economic relations and expand the warehousing capacities of territorial bodies, bearing in mind that in the future all procurements in quantities fewer than a freight car (container) load will be converted to the warehousing procurement method. The procedure for placing orders and formulating specifications must be perfected.



Particular attention should be paid to the struggle against violations of state planning discipline, for breakdowns in procurements of commodities needed by consumers are largely due to this reason. Shipping goods without work orders, ahead-of-schedule deliveries to some consumers while failing to fulfill contractual obligations to others, use of goods for intra-enterprise requirements over and above allocated quotas and oversupplying consumers within one's own department and "one's own" rayon to the detriment of procurements to meet unionwide requirements are all factors which disorganize planned procurements to the national economy and cause tremendous damage to a large number of enterprises, for consumers are also suppliers to other enterprises and all of their activities are interrelated within a developed system of production cooperation.

Here are typical examples. In the first half of 1983 the Bashkir timber workers fulfilled their industrial wood procurement plan 98 percent; the plan for deliveries to suppliers in their own rayon equaled 106 percent, whereas other consumers remained undersupplied. The Salavatnefteorgsintez Association systematically violates plan discipline. During the first quarter of 1983 it shipped 9,200 tons of carbamide to Bashkir consumers without work orders. Above-plan amounts of carbamide were shipped to consumers in the Bashkir and Tatar ASSRs at the expense of reduced deliveries to a number of oblasts in the Ukraine, Siberia and along the Volga in which the 1982 plan was fulfilled between 57 and 82 percent.

Similar cases were noted at enterprises in the Kazakh SSR in deliveries of slate, cement, rolled ferrous metals, batteries and other items.

The investigations made by the USSR Gosstat also indicate that not all ministries and departments are doing the necessary work to organize procurements and ensure the observance of discipline, considering this to be the duty of associations (enterprises) and their marketing and contract-legal services, forgetting that in their April 1983 decree the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers drew the attention of ministries and departments to the fact that "they bear full responsibility for the implementation of contracts for commodity procurements in the stipulated variety" and that the ministers must take all the necessary steps to block the production of items neither ordered nor in demand.

The USSR Gosstat agencies in charge of supervising the observance of state planning and contractual discipline are taking steps to stop violations and eliminate the reasons behind them. They are imposing sanctions by fining violating enterprises and submit the cases of the culprits to the people's control organs or, if necessary, to the prosecutor's office.

In the first 9 months of 1984, the USSR Gosstat levied fines totaling 312.1 million rubles for procurement violations and 138.6 million rubles for violations of plan discipline.

However, the struggle against such violations is still not being waged as it should. Here and there there is a tendency to ignore them and frequently penalties are not applied to the full and extent. Good use is being made of all available measures to make guilty officials personally responsible.

The material and technical supply bodies must do such work in close touch with ministries, state arbitration authorities, procurators' offices and people's control organs so that not even a single violation remain unpunished.

Managers of enterprises have expressed substantiated wishes aimed at ensuring the implementation of procurement obligations in the course of discussions of party and government resolutions on strengthening state planning and contractual discipline, on the economic experiment conducted by a number of ministries on expanding the rights of production associations (enterprises) and increasing their responsibility for work results. In particular, they pointed out the need to accelerate the making of decisions on upgrading the responsibility of transport organizations for nonfulfillment of transportation plans and raising the norms of enterprises supplying finished products, thus ensuring shipments before procurement deadlines expire. It was suggested, with a view to preparing enterprises for the implementation of their procurement obligations on time, to submit production plans to associations and enterprises not in December of the previous or February of the current year but no later than September of the preceding planned year. This will make it possible to order and receive materials and complementing items on time, to order transport facilities at the proper time, etc.; to make all procurement ministries ratify the lists of goods issued to the individual enterprises, as stipulated in the 1979 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree, according to which the consumers have the right to demand the conclusion of a contract for the necessary variety of items.

The procurement of goods according to contracts and work orders on time and in the required variety is something which all production associations and enterprises can accomplish. This requires the active efforts of one and all within the collective, the search for new organizational methods and public control. The way this is accomplished was well-described by V. Donskov, director of the machine-building plant in Mytishchi. The plant, which has 15,000 consumers, fulfilled its 1983 procurement plan 100 percent. Here the problem was solved as follows:

"The members of all plant brigades (70 percent of the basic production workers practice this labor organization method) are familiar with the content of the contracts and the deadlines for meeting specific obligations. I can say that the most effective means of control over the prompt implementation of the contract is the one provided by the workers. It is true that its mechanism has not been sufficiently developed as yet. What usually happens is the following: every month the brigade or sector collectives invite representatives of all related subunits and plant administration services to participate in their meetings. Discussions are blunt and frank. As a rule, however, this is to the good of the common project.

To the good of the common project! That is the most important factor. Deliveries to some mean reliable material and technical supplies to others. The implementation of the measures earmarked in the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on comprehensively improving the entire management mechanism

will enable us, on the basis of strengthening procurement discipline, to ensure rhythmical and uninterrupted material and technical supplies to the country's national economy.

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## EFFICIENT USE OF MATERIAL RESOURCES

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[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences V. Yefimov]

[Text] Today the party considers the rational utilization of capital assets and material, labor and financial resources and strengthening thrift and eliminating losses the most important prerequisites for achieving high end national economic results, improving intersectorial and intrasectorial ratios and the balanced growth of the economy and, on this basis, ensuring further improvements in the well-being of the Soviet people.

In his 15 November 1984 CPSU Central Committee Politburo session speech, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said: "...There is a common task which must imbue today the work of all sectors and enterprises: better economic management, efficient utilization of resources and more effective work or, in other words, efficient economic management. Today's characteristic feature is to do all work on a qualitatively higher level and to extend efficiency to all levels of the production process."

One of the main trends in economic intensification is the all-round economy of labor objects (raw materials, materials, fuel and energy), which are the most important component of the huge mass of material resources and a most necessary factor and prerequisite in public production and reproduction as a whole.

### The Most Important Economic-Political Task

A huge material-raw material complex has been formed in the country's national economy, the average daily gross public product of which exceeds 3.5 billion rubles. It includes the extracting industry, agriculture, sectors producing a variety of materials, fuel and energy and the steadily expanding realm of procurement and processing of secondary resources.

The development of this complex is expressed in the steadfast growth of the resource potential, which more than quadrupled between 1960 and 1964. The secure material and raw material base of the country is able to ensure further public production intensification.



The national economy consumes more than 5 billion tons of primary raw materials and power carriers per year. Industry produces more than 900 million tons of construction materials. The structural changes in the sectorial composition of the material and raw material complex earmarked for the 1980s, the improved utilization of raw and other materials and the more extensive recycling of secondary resources will enable us to lower material-intensiveness in the national income. This will make it possible to increase the share of sectors producing finished goods, to expand the export possibilities of the country and better to satisfy the needs of the national economy and population for a variety of goods.

In order to implement the stipulations of the 26th Party Congress on reducing material-intensiveness a radical change is needed in the current insufficiently efficient practice of utilization of the resource potential. Compared to the best world indicators, we lose more raw materials and energy per unit of national income. Many types of machines and equipment are highly material-intensive; specific material outlays for the manufacturing of a number of goods are high. Significant amounts of ore, coal and petroleum remain unextracted in ore mining for minerals. Production waste and secondary resources are poorly utilized. Considerable losses of metal, fuel, timber, cement, mineral fertilizers and agricultural and other commodities are allowed to occur in the production and storing of commodities. All of this confirms the existence of significant opportunities for increasing the production of finished goods with the same resources. Putting such reserves in the service of society, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Increasing Work on the Economical and Rational Utilization of Raw Material, Fuel-Energy and Other Material Resources" emphasizes, is the most important economic and political task at the present stage.

Lowering material-intensiveness is the direct and most widespread manifestation of the universal law of time-saving which, as defined by Marx, is the "first economic law based on collective production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part I, p 117). This is a necessary and the most essential prerequisite for the steady growth of social labor productivity. As an objective trend in the development of public production, economy of material outlays is making its way, influenced at all times by a large number of a great variety of exceptionally conflicting factors.

Thus, the inevitable increase in the cost of extracted fuel and raw materials as a result of the extensive utilization of new sources located in remote and hard-access areas in the country, currently contributes to increasing the material-intensiveness of the gross social product. Whereas 20 years ago 2.4 rubles in capital investments were needed per ruble increase in extracted raw material, at the start of the 1980s the figure had already exceeded 7 rubles. The increased cost of raw materials occurred in sectors accounting for more than half of the entire industrial output. It is felt particularly sharply in the fuel, timber procurement, cotton ginning and many other sectors. We know that conveniently located deposits of coal with rich and easily accessible deposits have already been exhausted and that the new coal basins are quite distant from main consuming economic areas. The centers of petroleum and natural gas extraction have shifted to the east and the north. This has drastically increased the specific capital, energy and metal-intensiveness of

output and the cost of transportation and storage of hydrocarbon fuels. The metallurgical industry is forced to use leaner ores which must be concentrated. This requires the development of additional facilities in the sector.

This naturally aggravates the task of accelerating public production intensification and the purposeful utilization of all available means of lowering resource-intensiveness and, particularly, the material-intensiveness of output. Compared with 1980, in 1983 saved fuel and energy resources totaled 71 million tons of ordinary fuel. Such savings exceed by one-half the volume of extracted energy carriers. Savings of 26.8 billion rubles in capital investments were achieved. The need for an additional 1 million railroad cars was eliminated.

The extensive use of scientific and technical achievements can greatly neutralize the effect of factors which increase the cost of raw material extraction and delivery to consumption areas. Today quality changes in transportation methods assume particular importance. One of the promising trends here is the development of continuous action pipelines operating on compressed air. The initial practical steps for their creation confirm quite convincingly the great future of this new type of transportation. One can easily imagine the tremendous economic results of implementing the daring plans for the creation of a "super-compressed air pipeline," which could carry forge coal to the Urals, for example, at minimal cost.

The further reduction of material-intensiveness in machine building is related to the use of new progressive materials and wasteless technology. Their use during the 1970s enabled us to reduce ingot-intensiveness (specific outlays of rolled ferrous metals per unit capacity) of industrial electric power locomotive engines, 340M refrigerated freight cars, brakeless cement-hauling freight cars, TEP-60 diesel locomotive engines, DET-250M industrial tractors, general-purpose T-150K agricultural tractors, ZIL-131 and KRAZ-2550 motor vehicles and hydrogenerators (on a 1000-kilowatt basis). This list could be extended significantly. Even without that, however, it is clear that a tremendous potential exists for the more efficient consumption of material resources.

The scale at which material saving equipment and technologies are being used in the national economy is increasing steadily. Between 1981 and 1984 output in the machine-building industry increased by 5-6 percent per each percent of increased output of finished rolled metal, which is the basic structural material in the industry. This ratio between semifinished and finished goods enabled us substantially to reduce machine and equipment metal-intensiveness.

"The need for intensification," Comrade K. U. Gerasimov emphasized in his article "On the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism," is dictated not only and even not so much by the shortage of resources but, above all, by the fact that our national economy has already reached the type of volume of output in which, in order to advance, we must learn beyond than update it."

Systematic improvements in the utilization of the resource potential are becoming the most efficient means of multiplying the country's national wealth.

and ensuring the fast growth of socialist accumulations and consumption funds. It is possible, as convincingly confirmed by the example of the GDR, to achieve the expanded reproduction of net output while reducing the reproduction of raw materials and power. Compared to 1980, the 1983 absolute amounts of industrial consumption of the most important types of energy, raw materials and materials in the GDR dropped by 9.1 percent, whereas the national income increased by 12.3 percent. Material-intensiveness was reduced by nearly 20 percent within that period. The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th Congress mentioned the significance of the experience of this fraternal country in the area of economizing on material resources.'

There is close interaction among the indicators of material-, capital- and labor-intensiveness in the consumption of material resources. The end objective of this interaction, achieved through scientific and technical progress--the steady growth of public production and its increased efficiency--may be achieved only if putting material resources in circulation is accompanied by improvements in their consumer qualities and by essential changes in the means of utilizing initial raw materials.

#### Increasing the Consumer Value of Material Resources

Relatively recent scientific disciplines such as the science of resources, which is developing a general theory of resources, and its applied branch--economics and organization of the rational utilization of material resources--which studies the laws governing the increased efficiency of their expanded reproduction in the national economy--are called upon to contribute to the successful solution of problems of all-round production intensification. Particularly relevant today are the development of methodological problems of interconnection and interchangeability of resources, the efficient utilization of the country's material-raw material and fuel-energy potential, the study of the relative efficiency of individual resources and improvements in their consumption structure.

One of the main problems of the economics and organization of efficient material consumption, which needs a profound study, is that of the consumer value of material resources and the means of its intensification. In recent years, the science of economics has paid great attention to problems of determining cost and price setting. Significantly fewer efforts have been made to study the categories of consumer value. Yet the intensified analysis of this category in terms of material resources would help us to resolve problems of their efficient utilization more successfully.

The successes achieved by the scientific and technical revolution enable us significantly to enhance the consumer values of traditional materials. Thus, for example, as a result of additional technological processing the strength of rolled ferrous metals could be doubled, tripled or increased even further. Rolled metal parts made of low-alloy heat-hardened steel make it possible to create machines and equipment of lighter weight and higher operational reliability. Standard grey pig iron used as construction material can be replaced by pig iron with spheroidal graphite. This material, which is stronger and more durable as a result of the addition of a variety of

modifiers, can successfully compete with high-strength steels as well. Thus, the life service of crankshafts made of spheroidal graphite pig iron is double the life of crankshafts made of steel castings with forging and subsequent machining.

The consumer value of this material acquires, therefore, new qualities which give it intensified or multiplied consumer value. Economic computations have indicated that the process of intensifying the consumer value of labor objects leads to significant savings in capital investments which would be required for the additional production of an equal amount of material resources.

Optimizing the structure of material consumption, substituting some materials with others and discovering new more promising areas for the application of specific resources conceal tremendous possibilities of economizing on labor and materials. Practical experience has confirmed that the consumption of ferrous metals and ferrous metal items drops as we expand the range of structural materials used in the manufacturing of the respective equipment. In turn, this lowers the specific metal-intensiveness of output, improves consumer qualities and upgrades exploitation resources.

For example, metals are being increasingly replaced by plastics in the national economy. In 1965 the country produced 8.8 kilograms of synthetic resins and plastic materials per ton of smelted steel; this figure rose to 14.4 in 1970, 20.1 in 1975 and 29 kilograms in 1983. This indicator will increase substantially by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan, although remaining substantially below its optimum: under contemporary conditions we should produce 100 to 120 kilograms of plastic materials per ton of steel. Such a level of output would enable us to virtually double resources of construction materials in terms of metal equivalent.

The new progressive materials enable us not only to save on resources which, frequently, may be quite scarce, but also to make a real technical change in the consumption area. The contemporary scientific and technical revolution is making such changes in literally all public production sectors, breaking down the old and creating new technological processes and bringing to life materials unknown in nature. Specialists have estimated that as much as 80 percent of all savings are the result of scientific and technical progress. Technological developments make the profound economic study of dynamics in the reproduction process of the totality of resources and the thorough development and technical-economic substantiation of specific suggestions for their efficient utilization on the various structural levels of the national economy particularly necessary.

#### The Program-Target Method of Material Consumption Rationalization

Determining the sources for the ever-increasing volume of fuel and raw material resources needed to satisfy the steadily increasing needs of the national economy, finding ways of maximizing the production of finished goods per unit of consumed raw material and material and the use of efficient steps to replace those which are becoming impossible to extract from nature face society with a number of most closely interrelated technological, economic and social problems. Their optimal solution is possible only on an intersectorial



basis. It requires the efficient coordination of activities of a large number of ministries and departments and the extensive utilization of the program-target method.

The program-target method enables us to focus our attention on resolving the main problems of economic construction. As a result of energy conservation steps, stipulated in the Energy Program, by the turn of the 21st century the need for fuel and energy resources will be reduced by 940 to 1,080 million tons of fuel equivalent. Particularly important is the program-target method applied in organizing efficient and economical material consumption. As a rule, major scientific and technical achievements require changes in a large number of intersectorial ratios and significant capital investments. Here sectorial plans are obviously inadequate.

A system for forecasting material saving trends in scientific and technical progress is needed. Such a combination of development alternatives will enable us to supply the directive issuing authorities with reliable information on possible ways of economic growth made possible with the application of the latest achievements in the use of efficient materials and technological processes. In particular, a criterion such as the possibility of replacing organic natural resources with other resources more widespread in nature or artificially obtained (ceramic materials in particular) assumes a particularly important role.

A system of such forecasts, which offers a picture of probable development of production forces, also includes the necessary data for the development of a state economic program for material resource conservation. The scientific and technical discoveries selected for use according to such a program become specific assignments issued to numerous cop performers in the conservation project.

Why is it necessary to develop precisely a nationwide program which, for the sake of brevity, could be described as "material-intensiveness?" Currently many ministries and departments have sectorial programs for upgrading production efficiency and the consumption of material resources. Measures to conserve material resources on this level naturally cover sectorial reserves and possibilities of subordinate enterprises and organizations. Yet the main reserves for increasing the efficiency with which material resources are used are found at the points where different sectors intersect. Intersectorial technologies are needed.

The clearly manifested intersectorial nature of the problem determines the particular importance of the elaboration of comprehensive state target programs for the conservation of all material resources and ensuring their efficient consumption. In addition to existing programs for fuel and metal conservation, programs have been drafted for saving on cement, glass and other basic and structural materials in construction and the efficient use of timber in the national economy, the economical use of material resources, reducing losses in agriculture, strengthening savings and reducing losses in transportation and consumer services, reducing the use of agricultural raw materials, cotton and other natural fibers for industrial purposes by

replacing them with synthetic and artificial materials and ensuring the economical use of material resources in the housing and communal economy.

The implementation of such programs does not exclude but, conversely, makes particularly topical, to my view, the formulation of a state "interproduct" "material-intensiveness" program, which would specifically answer questions of how to change the structure of material consumption on the scale of the entire national economy, what traditional technologies could be replaced and in which sectors, and what type of materials needed to meet specific needs remain to be created. The end purpose of such a program would be to ensure, by optimizing the material consumption structure, the systematic lowering of material-intensiveness in the national income. Naturally, this must be a long-term program continually updated in accordance with the principle which calls for updating the long-term program for scientific and technical progress in accordance with the July 1979 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on perfecting the economic mechanism.

A forecast and target program system will enable us to anticipate and promptly to make structural changes in material consumption with the help of scientific and technical discoveries. Let us note in this connection the important role of the long-term state program for the utilization of most important scientific and technical steps in upgrading the efficiency of utilization of material resources in the national economy, drafted by the State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, ministries and departments, with the active participation of the USSR Gosstab. The implementation of this program requires corresponding methodological and organizational support of the State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Gosstab.

National systems for material and technical procurements, as a tool for intersectorial connection between production and consumption, play a great role in the reorganization of the production and consumption structure with a view to material conservation. The planning authorities are dealing with a consolidated nomenclature of material resources. The national procurement system makes possible the utilization of material resources in accordance with specified requirements. It is precisely in this area that bottlenecks and imbalance between production and consumption appear.

The implementation of any scientific and technical program for the utilization of new materials and technologies in production is aimed at achieving higher and national economic results. Daily economic practice, however, proves that each production sector, as it applies a specific scientific and technical innovation, tends to present its departmental interests as interests of the state, and to identify the resulting economic benefits with the growth of national economic efficiency. The activities of sectorial ministries in the utilization of material resources, therefore, need an economic analysis on the basis of national economic rather than departmental positions. Such an objective analysis can be provided by the state material-technical procurement organs.

The satisfaction of the ever growing needs of the national economy for resources, based on their conservation, presumes the steady improvement of

comprehensive planning and management activities in the areas of production, distribution, turnover and utilization of labor tools and the active influence on such processes by the agencies within the state material and technical procurements system. Their activities are becoming an effective lever for the maximally efficient utilization of material resources by all consumers, thus relieving the national economy from the need to meet exaggerated and essentially fictitious needs.

The USSR Gosplan has acquired a certain amount of experience in this respect. In particular, the more thorough study of requirements for various material resources by the procurement authorities in the center and the local areas enables us to formulate more accurate production requests. Giving priority to orders for the production of progressive rolled metal shapes, new and economical types of cable and paper items and packaging materials is a major trend in such activities conducted by material and technical procurement bodies. Orders refined with the participation of the USSR Gosplan and corresponding scientific research organizations are substantially different in terms of structure from orders uncontrolled by material and technical procurement bodies. Thus, according to the Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Organization of Material and Technical Procurements of the USSR Gosplan, requirements for cable goods for 20,000 projects were overestimated by 23-25 percent.

The most important guarantee for the uninterrupted deliveries of material resources to the national economy is the further enhancement of the role and responsibility of the state system of material and technical procurement for the efficient utilization and conservation of material resources.

#### Repeated Utilization of Material Resources

The efficient consumption of material resources presumes an essentially new approach to the reproduction of material production factors. The concept of one-time utilization of resources put in economic circulation has become obsolete economically, technologically and ecologically. In recent years the public has increasingly accepted the idea that such an attitude toward resources is clearly wasteful. Production and consumption waste must be considered a prime source of raw and other materials.

Actually, all sectors inevitably generate raw materials from the viewpoint of the end product. Consequently, all processing industry sectors can be legitimately considered raw material producers. According to this logic, the entire personal consumption area may be considered a specific raw material-generating economic sector. As we know, today household waste containing valuable components (ferrous and nonferrous metals, glass, waste paper, textiles, plastics, resins, etc.) is being utilized on an increasing scale.

Between 1981 and 1984 the use of recycled resources enabled us to reduce outlays of prime natural energy carriers and raw materials by more than 7 billion rubles annually. The State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR includes a special section on the utilization of secondary raw materials. As was pointed out at the USSR Supreme Soviet Second Session, 11th Convocation, the 1985 plan calls for significantly increasing

the use of discarded tires, phosphogypsum, ash and ash-slag waste of thermoelectric power plants, broken glass, waste paper and other types of recycled raw materials.

Towards 1984, the planned 1985 volumes of utilization of secondary raw materials will enable us to save some 500 million rubles on prime raw materials; all in all, by utilizing secondary raw materials prime raw materials worth 12.6 billion rubles will be saved in 1985. Bearing in mind the highly efficient nature of this step, the USSR Gosplan and Gossnab are planning to increase their efforts in this area, particularly in the development of recycling capacities. As a result of the utilization of secondary raw materials, during the 11th Five-Year Plan the country will be able to conserve natural resources worth in excess of 50 billion rubles. Although this figure in itself is impressive, it does not exceed 3 percent of the entire volume of natural raw materials used in the country.

Toward the end of last year, the CPSU Central Committee considered the item "On Serious Shortcomings in the Utilization of Secondary Material Resources in the National Economy." The decree noted that despite decisions to improve the utilization of said resources in industry, the situation in this area remains unsatisfactory. Yet, the maximal involvement of such resources in the national economy is an inseparable aspect of thrift. The CPSU Central Committee deems inadmissible the underestimating by many ministries and departments of the importance of the economical utilization of material resources and of the extensive industrial utilization of recycled raw materials.

A rational solution of the problem of recycling material resources is possible only on the basis of the extensive use of wasteless technologies and the adoption of a nationwide system for resource regeneration. The value of such a system is that it ensures the total utilization of all components involved in economic circulation. The regeneration process means the transformation into valuable initial raw materials of means of production previously irretrievably lost through additional processing. This approach changes the traditional concept of the classification of the national economy into extracting and processing sectors.

The utilization of secondary resources and use of wasteless technology are most urgent economic necessities. Unused secondary resources involve significant unproductive costs borne by society. We know, for example, that the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy enterprises have accumulated 500 million tons of slag. Such stockpiles are increasing at the rate of 50 million tons per year. Annual outlays for the upkeep of slag dumps exceed 30 billion rubles. The power industry also has tremendous outlays. Thermoelectric power plants have accumulated about 1 billion cubic meters of slag and ash, the removal of which costs 120 to 150 million rubles. As a result of converting some of the operating TETs from liquid and gaseous to solid fuel and the increased ash content and worsened quality of coal slag, stockpiles are increasing and are expected to reach 120 million tons by 1985. The ministry has spent hundreds of millions of rubles to maintain the dumps which cover 15,000 hectares of valuable land. Storing the waste of Ministry of Chemical Industry Enterprises is tremendously costly as well. Every year



more than 40 million tons of solid household garbage must be removed from the cities.

The utilization of secondary resources is not only an economic but a social problem as well. Thus, the processing of waste paper makes it possible, by virtue of technological characteristics, to reduce air pollution by 45 percent and water pollution by 25 to 44 percent; the total amount of solid waste is reduced by nearly 40 percent. In recycling aluminum, compared to its production from ore, energy outlays decline by a factor of 23, fuel equivalents by a factor of 7.4, production costs by a factor of 2.5 and specific capital investments by a factor of 8. Compared with metal extracted from ore, outlays for the production of bronze and brass alloys from recycled raw materials drop by a factor of 5 for electric power, 3.4 for fuel equivalent and 10 for specific capital investments.

The USSR Gosstat together with the USSR Gosplan have determined that by 1990 it would be entirely realistic to expect additional national economic savings from the processing of large-scale waste alone totaling 14 billion rubles per year. So far insufficient use has been made of such waste.

The problem of recycling secondary heat resources is also exceptionally acute today. Losses in this area, worth billions of rubles, are irretrievable. The question has come up of extending the principle on which the work of power-technology combines is based to the activities of all enterprises consuming fuel-energy resources. For example, our country has huge amounts of brown coal with a higher moisture content (33-40 percent) and low caloric value. Their industrial processing would enable us to obtain high heat-generating types of fuel (semicoke, fuel gas), resins containing benzene, phenol and many other valuable chemicals and water steam. In this connection, the building of coal-chemical enterprises in the Kansk-Achinsk basin is a very important national economic task.

The high efficiency of recycled resources is universally acknowledged. However, many obstacles remain on its path, including surmounting a psychological barrier and the sluggish force of inertia. In this case the local soviets of people's deputies could be of invaluable assistance. They can harness new possibilities of which the local areas alone are aware. The Poti city executive committee provides convincing experience in this respect. Its idea of "city without waste" has been carried out. The territorial intersectorial association which was set up in Poti was able to organize the use of local resources, including recycled materials, and to increase the production of high-quality items in daily demand.

The radical solution of the problem of resource recycling is related to changing the price-setting and accountability procedures related to production costs. In our view, prices of prime raw materials should be used in the planned calculation of the cost of production based on recycled resources. It would be expedient during the initial period to leave the entire additional income to the enterprise, after which half of it could be deposited to the all-union centralized fund. This will enable us to accumulate funds with which to finance measures to convert waste into initial products for further processing.

## Reserves and Incentives in Resource Saving

In order to ensure the successful completion of the 11th Five-Year Plan it is particularly important to make use of the established production and scientific and technical potential of the country at a high return rate, to manage efficiently, and economically to spend material resources allocated for the development of the national economy through intensification. In addition to the strict assignments for thrift in 1985, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo deemed it necessary to turn to the labor collectives with the appeal to support the initiative of the best collectives in Moscow, the Ukraine and the Urals by creating at each enterprise, oblast, kray or republic an above-plan economy fund and see to it that in the final year of the five-year plan the collectives work for a period of 2 days with saved materials. Such savings should total more than 3.5 billion rubles. Such funds will be used for social purposes. The party's appeal met with the warm response of the working people. Production collectives are opening special savings accounts and assuming socialist pledges to increase thrift.

The patriotic movement of the masses, we believe, should be supported by a number of steps to improve economic work. It is of essential importance, for example, to plan the production of equipment in terms of measurement units which reflect its productivity more completely. Every year more than 1 million tons of rolled ferrous metals are saved by metallurgical workers who plan the fulfillment of orders in terms of tons reduced to standardized labor-intensiveness. This has created an interest in meeting the needs of consumers with less metal. Planning the allocation and production of polyethylene fabric by thickness and number of square meters helps to double the output of finished products from the same volume of initial raw materials.

The May 1982 USSR Council of Ministers decree on increasing material incentive for saving on resources was a step forward in improving economic management efficiency. The broad economic experiment launched in the country will be a test of a set of interrelated steps aimed at improving the economic mechanism. Starting with 1985 enterprises will be held liable for the inefficient utilization of material resources: enterprises which have exceeded outlay norms for such resources or mischanneled the use of raw materials, materials and fuel will be fined double or triple the amount of their cost.

Since the system of economic incentive and penalties is most closely related to the implementation of stipulated norms, the task of developing precise and scientific norms for specific material outlays assumes exceptional importance. At the same time, we must substantially strengthen control over the quality of the formulation and application of such norms.

Practical experience has proved that since the enterprise itself formulates draft norms, which must be approved by the ministry, in the course of the process of their approval a "stability reserve" is contemplated as a base for their future lowering. However, a lowering of padded norms does not prove in the least that resources are being used more efficiently, for the resulting economy exceeds the limits of the socially necessary level of outlays. Thus, the systematic lowering of outlay norms for rolled ferrous metals in machine

building during the 8th, 9th and 10th Five-Year Plans, compared to the base years (in percentage) left virtually unchanged the picture of metal utilization and did not result in any lessening of the stress situation in metal procurements. The fact that the reported savings from lowering norms of rolled metal outlays by five-year plans for the biggest consumers (14 machine-building ministries) was lower by a factor of 12-14 compared to the volume of metal waste proves how little this stipulation regulating the norming of metal outlays influenced its utilization. The utilization coefficient for rolled ferrous metals in machine building has remained unchanged for almost 20 years, totaling no more than 0.72-0.73. This is far below the level which could be achieved with the use of contemporary scientific-technical and technological achievements. The coefficient and utilization of fuel and energy resources, timber, and other materials remains low.

The steps taken by the party and the state to increase the rights and responsibilities of enterprises make the latter interested from the cost-accounting viewpoint in developing scientific norms for material outlays and their subsequent revision. Now the enterprises will keep the total amount of funds saved as a result of the more efficient utilization of material resources. The state will also benefit by saving on capital investments in extracting sectors. It has been estimated that each ruble of lowered material-intensiveness saves 6 rubles spent on the extraction of raw materials and fuel.

We believe that the assignment on lowering material-intensiveness of output may become an efficient measure to enhance the effectiveness of managing on a planned basis the efficient utilization of material resources. This indicator regulates not individual or separate outlays of raw materials, materials and energy but their totality, providing opportunities for improving the structure of material consumption.

The struggle against freezing material resources in stockpiles, the amounts of which are continuing to increase, becomes particularly relevant.

Nearly one-half of the increased gross social product went into stockpiles between 1981 and 1983, on a scale approaching the size of the annual volume of the national income. We must intensify the cost-accounting interest of enterprises in saving on production outlays.

One of the alternatives for increasing this interest would be to set up differentiated payments for above-norm stockpiles. From the economic viewpoint, resources frozen at a given enterprises means shortages of goods needed by other economic sectors. It would be economically justified, therefore, to charge the enterprises 15 to 18 percent of the value of above-plan stockpiles, not credited by the bank, in addition to the basic 6 percent rate. This would correspond to the level of planned profitability considered in price-setting. The value of above-norm stocks should be included in the overall amount of capital investments allocated to enterprises and associations on a centralized basis. It would be equally expedient to set up a procedure through which the material and technical procurement bodies would purchase above-norm materials at prices discounted by 12-15 percent. This

would motivate ministries and departments to order precisely the quantity of materials which they need to produce the planned amount of commodities.

As we know, the use of obsolete equipment as well causes unnecessary losses of raw and other materials. However, sometimes the enterprises are slow in restructuring their production machinery. It would be expedient in this connection to make more extensive use of financial levers to encourage them to replace their equipment. In particular, a tax could be levied on obsolete assets on an ascending scale: 6 percent for the first 3-4 years and 20 percent or more for the next 10-15 years. This approach would lead to the intensified use of installed capacities.

The extensive certification of workplaces would enable us to release no less than 20 to 30 percent of available machine tools and considerably to lower production capital-intensiveness.

In December 1984 the CPSU Central Committee considered the item "On the Work of the Vladimir Oblast Party Organization on Intensifying the Regimen of Economy of Material Resources as One of the Main Trends in Rational Economic Management." In the decree which the Central Committee adopted on this problem, it suggested to the party organizations to concentrate their mass political work along the decisive lines of production intensification and to raise the people in a spirit of a thrifty attitude toward the people's good at each workplace and at home.

At the present stage in the development of the national economy, labor tools are used on a daily and hourly basis on a huge unparalleled scale. The efficiency with which they are used decisively determines today the further quantitative and qualitative growth of expanded socialist reproduction. Efficient economic management, strict control over the expenditure of material resources and a thrifty attitude toward the people's good enable us tangibly to accelerate the progress of the socialist economy.

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## WITH FAITH IN VICTORY

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[Stories reported by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text] At noon on 22 June 1941 all Soviet radio stations announced the terrible news of the sudden and treacherous attack on our country by our perfidious and merciless enemy. It was then that the words filled with confidence were heard: "Our cause is just. The enemy will be defeated. Victory will be ours."

This was merely the first day of the war, and slightly under 4 years of constant bloody battles, 4 years of unparalleled trials separated us from full victory. The price was high: more than 20 million lives were lost for the freedom and independence of our homeland and for rescuing mankind from the fascist plague.

The history of the Great Patriotic War has provided numerous examples to confirm the outstanding Leninist prediction that a people aware of the justice of its cause cannot be defeated. The desire to defend the gains of the Great October Revolution at all cost multiplied the forces of the Soviet people. It was the base for the faith in victory which did not abandon the people even during the most difficult days of the war years at the front and the rear, or in the territory occupied by the enemy. The way this inflexible faith kept the spirit of the people up is described by participants in the great battle against Hitlerite fascism.

### The Enemy Was Defeated

Andrey Lavrent'yevich Getman. Son of a Ukrainian peasant, career military. CPSU member since 1927. Career ranging from student to army general. During the war he commanded a tank army and a corps and, in the final stage, was deputy commander of the First Guards Tank Army. Hero of the Soviet Union, bearer of 16 orders of the Soviet Union and other countries. Awarded a number of medals. After the war, military district commander. Currently inspector-adviser, USSR Ministry of Defense.

Even before we had to fight the forces of Hitlerite Germany we, the military, knew that its armed forces were tremendously powerful. We saw the speed with which the European countries had been defeated. However, we firmly relied on our own army and hoped that, if attacked, we would resist the enemy at the border.

The war broke out, however, and our concern grew with every passing day. During the initial months, we, who were stationed in the Far East, received our information only from the communiques and were amazed at the speed with which the units of the Wehrmacht were advancing in the country. Literally all troops and commanders were filing requests for transfer to the front. I too had requested such a transfer, but for the time being these requests were not being acted upon. Nevertheless, my time came. At the beginning of November 1941, the 112th Tank Division, which I commanded, was transferred to Moscow from the Far East. A tense active atmosphere prevailed in staffs and command points of the units with which we had to interact. The stern resolve to fight to the end, to defend Moscow, and the confidence that the aggressors will be routed could be sensed everywhere. Strange though it might seem, the staunchest and most confident were those who had experienced the bitter lot of retreating from the border. Our division engaged in battle on the move, as it were. This took place on 16 November. By order of the command, we counterattacked advancing enemy troops, stopped them and, after stubborn fighting, pushed the enemy back to the West.

It was precisely during those days that I had a memorable talk with a captured German air force officer. His airplane had been shot down. He had parachuted down and landed in the midst of our division. A captured officer was still a novelty during those days, for which reason he was taken straight to me. After the usual interrogation, I asked him whether he believed that Germany could win the war. The prisoner looked at me with unconcealed irony, reminding me that the Germans were near Moscow while no Russians were being seen near Berlin.

This answer stung me so badly that I jumped up. He stepped back, obviously thinking that I intended to hit him. However, trying to regain my calm, I suggested to him to remember our conversation. As a prisoner, he would have a lot of time to think and may he remember my words the day the Soviet troops enter Berlin. The pilot silently shrugged his shoulders.... He took my statement as being nothing more than a fit of temper and empty bragging.

Yet I fully believed what I had said! It is true that at that time it was difficult to find a reason for this confidence. The confidence, however, existed! At that time all of us clearly understood that we had no choice other than to rout the aggressors. If we failed to do this, that which was most precious to and cherished by all of us would perish. Everything we had achieved under the Soviet system would be crushed and our ideals would be desecrated. The homeland would perish.... Could this be allowed?!

We believed and, I would say, we even knew that we would win, that we would reach the enemy's capital. I was not the only one to think so. At the beginning of 1942, as ordered by headquarters, I organized a new tank corps in the Moscow area. It was sponsored by the Moscow Komsomol organization. We

were visited by a delegation carrying the flag of the Moscow and Moscow City Komsomol Committee. The flag was presented to us with the instruction of planting it in Berlin!

At that time the enemy was still 120 kilometers away from Moscow.... Despite this cruel proof we stubbornly retained our faith in our final victory and dedicated our entire strength to bring it closer.

We believed in victory, well aware of the fact that we may not live to see it. People get killed in war. Yet, that was precisely the point: for the sake of the victory of our great homeland and people we were ready to die in battle.

The troops fought to the death in the most fierce battles, with clenched teeth and the firm decision that the treacherous enemy must not triumph! If not I, my comrades would rout him....

I remember the front-line veterans of 1941. I also remember the worrisome summer of 1942, when the enemy reached the Kuban and fiercely rushed toward the Volga. People's Commissar of Defense Order No 227, known in the armed forces as Order "Not One Step Back!" was read to the ranks. We were being told the terrible and bitter truth of tremendous losses, the fact that we no longer enjoyed superiority over the Germans in terms of manpower reserves or grain. I shall never forget the words "to retreat further means to lose oneself and, to lose our homeland." It was engraved in the minds that our duty was to stop and, subsequently, to defeat the enemy at all cost! Henceforth the main requirement was not one step back.

Every troop and commander signed this order as though assuming themselves full responsibility for the fate of the fatherland.

In the course of the gigantic battle against the aggressors, our faith in victory remained essentially unchanged, gaining new dimensions. During the hard period of the retreat sometimes it came closer to hope. After the battles at the Kursk Salient this faith turned into total confidence, felt identically at the front and the rear.

In the most stubborn defensive battles at Oboyan I was directing the operations of the corps from the position held by one of the brigades. The avalanche of tanks which rolled toward us was such that seemed would be able to stop it. The troops, however, remained calm, acting efficiently and with concentration. During the attack they calmly waited for the enemy tanks to come closer and did not fire at them prematurely, to be sure of a hit. It was at that point that an event which made the troops laugh occurred. A young soldier, part of recent reinforcements, stood up from his trench and, shouting, threw a hand grenade. Those who saw him laughed and, after the battle, joked: the tanks were 600 meters away and, furthermore, a hand grenade would not have harmed them.

What I registered, however, was what the soldier had shouted: "Take this, vermin, this is not 1941!" His voice carried a fierce and triumphant note. After the Kursk-Orel battle, forgetting the word "retreat," our forces kept advancing. The Sixth Tank Corps, which had become the 11th Guard Corps,

participated in many victorious operations. It crossed the Dnestr, Prut, Bug, Vistula and Oder. It defeated the enemy on the shores of the Baltic. After a battle, measuring on the operative map the dozens of kilometers of the advance, or seeing along the roads piles of smashed enemy equipment and the endless columns of prisoners, I caught myself repeatedly thinking: "This is not 1941!"

Carefully preserved in my personal files is the appeal of the Military Council of the First Belorussian Front, which was read to our tank army. It included the following: "The key to victory is in your hands." During the first period of the war the orders, leaflets and appeals carried the thought that we are stronger than the enemy because our cause is just and we are fighting against slavery and oppression. Now this thought was reinforced by the assertion that our guns, airplanes and tanks are better than the German and more than the enemy's.

Every soldier could see and was aware of this, understanding that even on his own soil the enemy was no longer able to stop the wave of our offensive. However, this was not to say in the least that we advanced easily. The enemy resisted with the ferocity of the doomed, the more so since day after day the German soldiers were told that the the Red Army would not spare anyone in Germany.

Resistance to the advance of the First Belorussian Front, which had to force its way across a defense system echeloned over tens of kilometers in depth, was particularly strong. During the entire war I did not see such fierce battles as those fought on the approaches to Berlin, particularly at the Seelow Heights. Nevertheless, we reached it in just a few days!

Let me point out that during the final and decisive battles our forces fought with unusual enthusiasm. Yes, every soldier and officer knew that the end of the war was very close. Everyone passionately wanted to live to see peace, to return the homeland, to see his relatives and go back to his ordinary job. They wanted.... Yet they sometimes entirely forgot caution and self-preservation. The eagerness to crush the hated enemy, who had brought such suffering to the native soil and to our suffering people, proved to be stronger than fear of death. Still living veterans of the storming of Berlin will confirm that our troops fought with a tremendous spiritual upsurge, attacking fiercely, daringly and irrepressibly and, I would even say, frenziedly. They mercilessly crushed the Hitlerite defenses.

In this fiercest of all battles the troops of the First Guards Tank Army were motivated by their own special incentive. Marshal Zhukov, commander of the First Belorussian Front, had given us an assignment which his order described as historical: to be the first to penetrate inside Berlin and raise the victory flag over the city. Indeed, the tank men were the first to enter Berlin. However, the forces of the third assault army were the first to reach the Reichstag and it was they who raised the Soviet flag over it.

However, the troops of the 11th Guards Tank Corps also had the flag presented to them at Moscow by the delegates of the Moscow Komsomol. The instruction



they had been given 3 years before was carried out--the flag was raised on top of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The last combat operation of our tankmen was on May Day, when they routed strong enemy groups in the area of the zoo and Tiergarten. The next morning the remnants of the Berlin garrison capitulated. The thunder of artillery shelling died out, the shooting stopped, the downcast columns of prisoners marched on and the piles of their discarded weapons grew. White flags hung from the windows of still standing buildings.

At that time I was at the headquarters of the Eighth Guards Mechanized Corps commanded by General I. F. Dremov. When the capitulation was announced the corps commander and I hugged each other. There were tears in his eyes and, obviously, moisture in mine. And how! For the moment we had been waiting for for so many days and nights with such impatience and for which we had done everything we could to bring it closer, had come.

It is difficult to repeat the words of the exalting troops who had finished off the accursed enemy. Soldiers and officers hugged and kissed one another, congratulating themselves with the victory, throwing their caps in the air. Powerful shouts of "Hurray!" thundered on the squares and streets of overthrown Berlin. Spontaneous meetings were held in the units. The universal joy was endless and so were recollections. We also recalled the first day of the war, when the words which made us confident had been heard for the first time: "Victory will be ours." We honorably carried with us this appeal of the party to the people throughout the entire war. And we won!

#### More Precious Than Life

Mariya Borisovna Osipova. Belorussian. Daughter of a hereditary glassblower and worker at a glass plant. Pioneer, Komsomol member, party worker. CPSU member since 1928. Before the war graduated from the Minsk Juridical Institute. During the occupation of Minsk headed a clandestine group (1941-1943). After the war, member of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Court, head of group for the review of petitions for clemency of the BSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Hero of the Soviet Union. Bearer of two orders and 13 medals. Today retired with a union pension.

"War" is a terrible word. When I hear it I see the images of the horrors it brings--exploding bombs and shells, fires and smoke, people shouting for help, corpses on the streets.... I saw all of this 1 week after the Hitlerites attacked our native soil. The fascists entered Minsk as early as 28 June.

However, life under the occupation proved to be even worse. The enemy established the strictest possible regime of terrorism, based on suppression. He immediately began to issue his inhuman orders. Anyone hiding an escaped Soviet soldier or officer would be shot together with his family. Anyone who would give food to a commissar, a communist, or a Komsomol member would be shot together with his family. Anyone who would listen to Radio Moscow would be shot together with his family. The same punishment would be inflicted on

those who failed to surrender their radio receivers. The enemy executed these orders on a daily basis. Every day Soviet people were thrown in jail, tortured and shot to death....

Today the people read that Hitler had ordered the killing of anyone who would even look askance at a German. They read and disbelieve. Yet we personally experienced this.

However, from the very first day of the occupation the people firmly believed that the triumph of the enemy was only temporary. I remember what Verbitskiy, an old peasant, told me the evening I spent in Yanusnkovich village, while looking for my daughter, who had disappeared:

"Daughter, no matter how hard you look there is no power on earth which could conquer the Russian soil."

I heard the same thought expressed by different people: my fellow party members, nonparty peasants, in the countryside, and in the partisan areas liberated from the enemy.

The fascists prepared for war relying on quick victory. Naturally, they did assume that the population in the occupied territories would resist. For some reason, however, they believed that the resistance would come from a relatively small, from the politically active segment of the population. They could not even imagine the extent of the loyalty of the Soviet people to their homeland and to the ideas of communism, and the way they would fight for them.

The resistance forces grew and strengthened with every passing day. The number of large and small partisan detachments grew, sabotage groups were set up, and clandestine organizations showed up everywhere. Worth recalling is a curious admission by the Hitlerites. On 25 October 1941, after a study of intelligence reports, the Wehrmacht General Staff concluded that "today the partisan struggle is a struggle for bolshevism. It is a popular movement." The enemy was forced to keep on Belorussian territory the subunits of more than 14 divisions and several artillery regiments.

During that time clandestine groups, headed by the clandestine city party committee, which had actively worked from 1941 on and until the liberation of the city, were already operational in Minsk.

Also by that time the clandestine group which I set up was energized in Minsk. Initially we helped hide wounded soldiers who had been unable to escape, supplying them with documents, food and medicines. We were then able to establish contact with prisoners of war. We organized escapes from concentration camps. We celebrated the first successful operation in the course of which we were able to free from the Masyukovshchina camp 30 people all at once. They were sent to the partisan unit. Our comrades also organized the escape of Nikolay Pokhlebayev, the political instructor. We supplied him with forged documents and found him a job in a movie theater patronized by Germans.

Generally speaking, placing our comrades in German establishments was one of our most important tasks. With a great deal of difficulty we were able to find a job for Nikolay Krechetovich as an electrician for the city administration. This unusual person had been a polytechnical institute teacher before the war. As a worker at the administration, he gave us invaluable aid: he made keys for safes where identity cards and other documents were kept and which he regularly supplied to clandestine workers. His gift to the group was a radio set he had put together. It was thus that we were able to establish contact with the Big Land, at that time still one-sided. We listened to Sovinformbyuro communiques and organized the printing of leaflets which informed the urban population of the situation at the fronts.

It is difficult even to imagine the importance of such information, particularly in the late autumn and the start of the winter of 1941. The fascists were spreading the rumor that Moscow would fall soon and that the Red Army was totally routed. The truth always gave the people confidence and lifted their spirit. Victory communiques and our leaflets, which reported where the Soviet forces were defeating the Hitlerites and how, strengthened the forces of the people and their faith in victory.

The occupation forces raved at any action by the clandestine fighters, be it a leaflet or sabotage. They increased their repressive measures, frequently executing totally innocent people. The security service increased its network of agents in order to identify the clandestine organizations. The first to be captured was Tonya Sokolova, our radio operator. She had confided in someone who turned out to be a traitor. This was followed by new collapses. Our comrades, who fell in the hands of the secret police, endured all the tortures during the investigations without betraying anyone. The people did not spare themselves for the sake of victory.

I still remember a day in August 1943. I was on my way to a safe house when suddenly the landlady ran to meet me. She was pale and frightened. She whispered: "They are looking for you. Leave!" She reported that Valya had been arrested (this 18-year-old girl was one of the youngest members of the organization). The landlady also said that Vera Mitina had been detained.

I crossed a yard, jumped a fence and found myself in the neighboring street. Suddenly I see Vera being taken away. I could not run, for the guards would immediately realize the situation. I stopped, as though yielding the right of way, and heard the words of the interpreter: "Tell us where that bandit is." She quietly answered: "I am not connected with anyone, I do not know anyone, I have two small children. My only concern is how to feed and clothe them." His answer was, "You are stupid, woman! You would get a lot of money yet you are unwilling to talk!"

At that point Vera saw me and her eyes opened wide. She suddenly took off. Naturally, she was caught. They shouted: "What, you think of running away?" She kept crying, "All I want is to say good-bye to the children...." A car pulled up and Vera was pushed inside.

I was shook up, wondering what to do. She had two girls, aged 6 and 4. I thought of giving myself up to the SD. But then this would not have saved Vera, for they would not have released her....

Wilhelm von Kube, the high Nazi official Hitler had appointed governor general of Belorussia, directed and sanctioned the atrocities of the occupation forces. Entire villages with their population were burned with his knowledge and on his orders. Tens of thousands of people were killed at the Trostyanets concentration camp. An equal number perished in the smaller camps.... All in all, the aggressors killed one-quarter of our republic's population.

Clandestine workers and partisans started the hunt for the bloody butcher Kube from the moment he appeared in Minsk, in the autumn of 1941. Plans were made, ambushes were organized but the Gauleiter could not be captured. It was only in the summer of 1943 that our clandestine group was able to formulate a realistic plan for Kube's elimination. Clandestine worker Nikolay Pokhlebayev (the one we had rescued from a camp in 1941) met Yelena, sister of Valentina Mazanik. Yelena was the Gauleiter's maid. My first meeting with this woman was toward the end of the summer. She behaved very cautiously. This was understandable, for the Hitlerite security service frequently "tested" people working in German establishments through provocateurs. It was only after obtaining substantial proof that I was indeed acting on behalf of the underground that Yelena Mazanik began to trust me. It was at that point that we discussed all the details of the operation. It was decided that Kube would be killed in his own residence with a delayed action magnetic mine. It was me who instructed Yelena how to set the explosive. On the appointed evening, after setting the mine in Kube's bedroom and starting the clock mechanism I took her, along with her sister, away from Minsk in a car which had been procured for the purpose. One hour later we were in a partisan-held area.

A powerful explosion rocked the residence of the governor general during the night. It was thus that the sentence passed by the Belorussian people was carried out....

Today, when I think of those long-ago days, I am always amazed at the way we were able to withstand the terrible occupation and live under conditions of terror, violence and degradation. Yet, we did. We did not simply exist but struggled, causing the aggressors substantial harm. We fought the enemy, suffering heavy casualties, with the risk of falling into the hands of the executioners at any minute. We fought, supported by the bright faith in victory and the triumph of our just cause.

#### We Did All We Could

Aleksandr Iosifovich Andryushin. Son of a Russian worker. CPSU member since 1932. Began his labor career as a worker. He worked, studied, became foreman and chief of section and shop. On October 1941 he became director of the Moscow Hard Alloys Combine. Bearer of seven orders and eight medals of the Soviet Union. Twice laureate of the USSR State Prize. Candidate of Technical Sciences. Currently plant director and party raykom bureau member.



On Sunday, 22 June 1941, I went shopping to the center. On Pushkin Square I noticed that the people were hastening toward loudspeakers hanging on the poles and excitedly talking. I became extremely tense when I heard the terrible news and saw the frozen and stern faces of the people. I rushed to the combine. The heads of all the services of the enterprise had already gathered in the director's office. He explained to us that henceforth we would convert entirely to the production of war equipment and that all managers would be considered mobilized.

Requests immediately poured from workers and engineering and technical personnel to join the active army. One hundred and twenty hard alloys personnel were accepted as members of the home guard although the number of requests was substantially higher.

Let me point out that at the beginning of the war many people believed that it would be short-lived and that, naturally, we would be able to defend our borders. Reality proved otherwise. Reports from the front triggered a depressing feeling and even dismay in some people. The German aviation began to bomb Moscow starting on 22 July. Although, as we know, only a small percentage of aircraft were able to reach the city, bombs nevertheless fell. Incendiary bombs were particularly bothersome.

Several such bombs hit our shop and started a fire one night in August. Half the premises burned down despite our efforts to fight the fire. The people still remaining at the plant were recruited to build defense installations. After working a 12-hour day at the plant, we would go to Mar'ina Roscha to set up barricades or to Pokrovskoye-Streshnevo or Ostankino to dig antitank ditches.

The day of 16 October has left a bad memory in my mind. The rumor spread that in numbered hours enemy elements would enter Moscow. Unfortunately, there were also those who panicked. However, it was precisely after that day that the faith that we would not surrender the capital to the enemy began to strengthen in the people. By the end of October the combine's evacuation had essentially been completed and I was appointed director of the part which was left behind.

After sending off an echelon to the Urals, I decided to inventory the remaining equipment. It was strange and terrifying to look at the dark empty shops. Life remained in one shop only, where the cores of shells which could pierce the tanks' armor, were being baked from powder. This shop as well, however, was to be dismantled soon.

The premises were mined: tolite explosives had been laid under the walls and the equipment. However, as I walked through the shops I did not believe even for a second that this combine, which had become my home, would be blown up. It was here that I had come as a common laborer, assigned by the labor exchange. It was here that I had become a cadre metallurgical worker and, at the age of 21, a party member. It was while working here that I had become an engineer.... It was here that I had taken part in the creation of the famous

"victory" alloy. This was my life, the life of my close comrades.... Was it possible that the enemy boots would trample on all this?

Workers came to me, asking when they would leave, questioning the very need of leaving. Such talks hit me straight in the heart. Naturally, there was no need! My thoughts were roughly the following: the Germans will not enter Moscow and we must continue to produce armor-piercing shells and urgently organized mass production of armor-piercing cores for the shells. If the remaining equipment were to be shipped out we would lose a few months before being able to organize the production of an item so greatly needed by the front.

However, who could I convince of my viewpoint? I suddenly remembered the telephone in the director's office.... And I rang up Shcherbakov, party Central Committee secretary. He showed an interest in my suggestion and asked me to come and see him. At about 2 am I was in his office.

This was a difficult night. I spoke with Shcherbakov and went to the Kremlin to see Voznesenskiy, Gosplan chairman. I saw him at dawn and during the day he unexpectedly showed up in person at the combine, looking at the empty shops and the only active one. He stopped at the workplace of Klavdiya Yamshchikova, our Stakhanovite, and asked her what she thought about remaining in Moscow: "I have never wanted to go anywhere! Why go if we will stop the Germans before Moscow anyway!"

The Gosplan chairman was obviously satisfied with these words. He asked me to draw up a list of everything we needed to increase production quickly.

Several days later, I was unexpectedly summoned to attend a ceremonious session on the occasion on the 24th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which, as we know, was held at the Mayakovskaya subway station. I remember the strict checking of documents, the table laid out in two cars and the various chairs scattered among the pillars. Embedded in my mind are Stalin's words: "The Germans have made a great mistake...."

There was also the day of 7 November and the parade on Red Square, to which I was invited as well. Anyone who remembers that time is well aware of the great importance of that parade and the feelings it triggered in all of us, cementing within us faith in our victory.

However, the road ahead of us was long and hard. The trials of those who marched the front roads to victory were incredibly hard. In the rear as well, things were not always easy. Even the most necessary items were lacking--raw materials, tools, equipment, power and food. Gradually we burned in the boiler room the wooden buildings on the combine's territory. We managed to procure wood from Kaluga Oblast and timber from Mytishchi. We sent people to reopen the Moscow coal basin mines which the aggressor had destroyed. Together with members of the city party committee I visited plants in Noginsk, Podolsk and other cities around Moscow to study the enterprises evacuated from the capital. We were able to pick up machine tools, presses, pumps and other equipment which had been left behind.

Cadres presented the most difficult problem. By decision of the State Defense Committee 40 specialists were recalled from the front to work at the combine. However, this was extremely insufficient. We began to hire adolescents from secondary schools, women and pensioners. Frankly, working conditions were extremely harsh--dust from the powders prepared for baking, gases, the thunder of presses and the heat of the furnaces, work without days off, 12-hour shifts and, on top of everything else, enemy aviation raids. The workers were frequently forced to sleep at the plant, in the drying premises on trestle beds and shelves, next to the machine tools or even on the floor.... I personally lived at the combine from the first to the last day of the war.

All of this was considered normal! If that's what it took to defeat the enemy, we had to endure.... Everyone understood that it was even worse at the front. They also understood something else: one cannot hope for victory but bring it closer through one's own efforts, at all cost.

The party members were the backbone of the collective. Their dedication was so great that it sometimes seemed as though nothing was impossible for such people. How to forget such people on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory? Our best worker--press worker Novgorodov, the first Stakhanovite at the combine, was a splendid master of his work and a person with a great soul. Machine operator Klavdiya Yamshchikova had said in the autumn of 1941 that the workers would do everything demanded by the party. She proved this through her actions! How to forget former blacksmith Aleksey Shaforostov, who had been elected party committee secretary even before the war of liberation and who worked throughout the war years at the combine as party organizer of the VKP(b) Central Committee!

What was the behavior of the people who joined the combine during the war, during the difficult months of the battle for Moscow! Anna Vinogradova, a housewife and the wife of a frontline veteran, mastered to perfection the skill of press operator in just about a few days. She organized a brigade of 16-17-year-old schoolgirls, which soon began to take the lead in the competition, fulfilling the plan 200-250 percent. Lyuda Grigor'yeva, her student, proved herself so capable that she surpassed her teacher. She was entrusted with heading a frontline Komsomol-youth brigade.

It was with the hand of these people, their will power and their readiness for self-sacrifice that something which seemed beyond human possibilities was accomplished: the plant came back to life in a few weeks and began to produce extensive amounts of armor-piercing cores for antitank guns and shells.

As we increased the production of cores, we sought means of increasing their hardness and piercing power, for we knew that the enemy was trying to improve his tank armor. This target was achieved. Under difficult conditions, we were able to develop an alloy which was harder than "pobedit" by a factor of 2.5. We were in constant touch with the army. We went to the front, consulted with the artillerymen, closely studied the holes in hit German tanks and determined the distances at which the shells had been fired. This painstaking work took place at special testing grounds near Moscow.

I recall that once our engineers, arriving at the testing grounds, saw an angular type of tank, the very sight of which was frightening. This was the "Tiger"--the new German tank model. The tank had been brought from the western front where it had become mired in a swamp and captured by Soviet troops. We shot at this trophy and we saw that our cores could pierce Krupp's steel.

Several months later the fascist command threw into the battle for the Kursk Salient its latest "Tigers" and "Ferdinands." It relied heavily on these tanks, believing that they would play an almost decisive role in the gigantic battle. However, its hopes failed under the hail of Soviet shells. We know that in the battle for the Kursk Salient it was precisely with artillery fire that the overwhelming majority of enemy tanks were hit and destroyed. The armor-piercing and calibrated shells whose cores were made of hard alloys proved to be the most efficient striking weapon. The cores were produced by two enterprises only--the Moscow Combine and the plant set up in the Urals on the basis of our enterprise.

Let me point out another circumstance. In the fascist Reich blind faith in the power of weapons had increased and strengthened as a result of victory over the armed forces of many European countries. In the war unleashed against the Soviet people, however, it suddenly turned out that simply having military superiority was not enough for victory. Even during the most difficult days of the war, the enemy, armed to the teeth, could not prevail. The force of arms could not prevail over the power of the people's spirit. The loyalty of the Soviet people to their system, confidence in the justice of their cause, thirst for victory over the hated enemy and readiness to dedicate for its sake what was most precious and even their life made perfect weapons helpless.

During the period of the war when, finally, we gained superiority in terms of quantity and quality of combat ordnance, the aggressors no longer had any chance....

The workers in the rear supplied the Red Army with all that was necessary for the defeat of the enemy. This powerful military equipment did not come cheap. To this day it is difficult to imagine that it involved the work of millions of women, adolescents and old people, who had taken over from the workers at the front. I still remember the boys and girls in their torn boots and worn-out jackets, standing by the kilns, thin, grubby, tired, with eyes red from constant lack of sleep.

Victory Day came, at last. I believe that never before had Moscow experienced such happiness. It was not only a matter of the holiday neatness of the city and the unforgettable victory salute. It was a question of the atmosphere of general enthusiasm and happiness of the people crowding streets and squares. This entire tremendous mass of people moved toward the center of the city--Red Square--and to the Kremlin, the heart of the country.



In the columns that marched by were our hard-alloy workers, happy and triumphant. Like myself, clearly everyone thought: "We did everything we could to bring this day closer!"

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[Article by R. Ovinnikov, doctor of historical sciences: "Crisis of the World System of Capitalist Economy and Intensification of Aggressiveness of Imperialism"]

[Text] The sharp aggravation of the international situation at the beginning of the 1980s and, especially, in subsequent years is a universally known and indisputable fact. The intensified aggressiveness of imperialism represents an unprecedented threat to all mankind. This is why the question of the deep causes of this aggravation and of responsibility for it is of primary importance.

As is known, the Western propaganda machine is trying to actively advance a number of theses in this connection. The claim that the "subversive activities" and even a direct "military threat" coming from the world of socialism and primarily from the Soviet Union are allegedly the main cause of this turn in the international situation is the main one among theses. However, even among the ruling circles in the West there are individuals who have the courage to face the truth. Thus David Astor, member of the well-known English aristocratic family, said, as far back as 2 decades ago, in connection with analogous claims: "Listening to the conversations of the composed warriors...it is possible to imagine that, if communism...did not exist, there would be no danger of any world war. However, the causes of the last two world wars are in no way due to communism." Imperialism and only imperialism engendered two world wars that brought countless calamities to mankind.

Lately, the deep economic roots of imperialism have once again inexorably pushed the tendencies of power and militarist tendencies to the surface, into the system of interstate relations. A mass of indications eloquently attests to this fact. A recent admission by W. Bundy, former editor of the well-known American journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS, is interesting in this respect. Resigning from that position in the summer of 1984 and surveying the results of the functioning of the capitalist economy in the last few years, he noted with alarm the accumulation of a new critical mass of dangerous combustible material in that economy. "In this case," he noted, "even though all

parallels are relative, one is inevitably reminded of the 1929-39 period. It may not have been only one great depression [a reference to the 1929-33 world economic crisis--editor's note] that brought Hitler with it, but any gravely unsatisfactory economic situation feeds the impulses that lead to war.... Today the link between the economy and the prospect of war is definitely strong." Bundy also emphasized in this connection that, as regards the growth of power tendencies within it, the present state of the world capitalist economy is "absolutely critical...from the viewpoint of dangers of spreading of the conflict or even a large war." Thus even the apologists of the capitalist system admit that the system's deepening crisis by itself organically generates once again the probability of imperialist wars breaking out.

Since the beginning of the era of imperialism, the tendencies that are characteristic of monopolist capital have inexorably continued to engender a certain destabilization on the international scene which have turned into armed conflicts on more than one occasion. "At the basis of the entire international situation as it has developed now," V. I. Lenin said, "are the economic relations of imperialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 215).

V. I. Lenin used to emphasize that, in its fundamental economic characteristics, imperialism is marked by the least devotion to peace and love of freedom and by the greatest and general development of the military (op. cit., vol 37, p 248). The monopoly that grows from a concentration of production is the main component of the economic basis of imperialism. It is the very nature of monopoly to strive for domination and violence and for repression of all those who do not submit to its oppression and arbitrariness. In this context the international policy of imperialism grows as a derivative of the economic essence of monopolies. "The relationship of domination and violence--the latter being connected with the former--is something that is typical of the 'latest stage in the development of capitalism' and something that inevitably had to result and has resulted from the formation of omnipotent economic monopolies" (op cit., vol 27, p 323). This has logically led to the conclusion that, as long as they existed, the monopolies would continue to engender a predatory, aggressive and militarist imperialist policy of division and redivision of the world. In this event, Lenin pointed out, mankind will be compelled "for years and even decades to endure the armed struggle of 'big' powers for an artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppressions of all kinds" (op. cit., vol 26, p 314).

Therefore, to understand the deep forces today influencing the policy of imperialism on the international scene, it is necessary first and foremost to consider the present situation in the camp of the biggest imperialist monopolies as well as the tendencies engendered by this situation.

#### Transnational [transnationalnyy] Plunderers

The changes that have taken place in a number of imperialist monopolies in the last 4 decades, that is, in the period since World War II, have been the most significant in their entire history.

First of all, the biggest imperialist corporations have grown gigantically. Now, the economic power (determined by the volume of their commodity trade and the amount of their assets) of the most powerful among them has already reached a level that is equal to the level--determined by the corresponding indexes (gross national product)--not only of small but also of the medium-size developed capitalist states. And if we compare them with the young developing countries, most of the biggest corporations, each of them individually, surpass many individual and, in some cases, scores of such countries taken together.

Another characteristic feature of the super giant companies is the following: Whereas the domestic markets of developed capitalist countries represented their original basis, they have since then by far overgrown these national boundaries that have become too narrow for them. Today, the world capitalist economy as a whole represents the important and, at times, the main source of profits for any of these corporations. And in this connection they are striking out deep into the economies of other countries by acquiring ownership of industrial enterprises there and rooting themselves in the economic fiber of these states.

The appearance of colossal private empires within the world system of capitalist economy which disregard state borders and strive to live according to their own laws is the sum total of the growth of these corporations. It goes without saying that the changes on this scale in what Lenin characterized as the economic relationship of imperialism could not but result in corresponding consequences for the international policies of the imperialist powers. The question only is what precisely these consequences are.

It seems that the triumphal march of transnational corporations has actively galvanized the theory of "ultraimperialism" among their apologists. Some of them directly assert that Kautsky's prediction about the end of the struggle of monopolies and about the beginning of a stage of a joint exploitation of the world by a united international financial capital would supposedly 'turn out as plausible in the age of transnational corporations.' They declare that "Kautsky's peaceful imperialism is really perhaps already near."

However, all these are purely speculative conclusions. Lenin observed in his time that the best answer to lifeless abstractions of "ultra-imperialism" is to contrast them to the concrete economic reality of the world economy (op. cit., vol 27, p 392). This Leninist approach is correct also today. The realities of the world of contemporary giant monopolies testify to the following.

It must be noted first of all that the transnational corporations are rigidly controlled by groups of monopolist capital that are isolated from the states. None of them has become "multinational" [mnogonatsionalnyy], something about which so much is written in the West as an accomplished fact. Generally speaking, even "binational" companies are unique among them. As a matter of fact, among the 300 biggest transnational corporations, there are only two, that is, fewer than 1 percent of their total number, that are essentially binational. They are the British-Dutch companies of the Royal Dutch-Shell and



Unilever that were founded in 1907 and 1929, respectively. Both were the result of the common fate of the British and Dutch colonialisms that were bound together at a certain historically ended stage. Judging by all available evidence, these conditions can be very rarely repeated. In any event, the only other binational monopoly that has appeared since then, that is, the British-Italian company of Dunlop-Pirelli, which was formed in 1971, collapsed in 1980. These indisputable facts show that it is not the fusion of different national capital stocks but their competitive development and the deep differences between their economic interests that continue to represent the main road of the great growth of monopolies.

The very activation of transnational corporations on the international scene is a consequence of their exploitative and predatory nature. It is dictated by their pursuit of the highest profits, which these corporations can no longer obtain in the basic domestic markets. In this context the newly born super giants are primarily tools of plundering other countries and peoples, a special kind of colossal pumps to pump out resources from the economies of "alien" states.

The following incontrovertible facts illustrate the frankly predatory, "cannibalistic" habits of transnational corporations. At the early stage of their development, at the beginning of this century, their absorption of foreign firms made up the smallest part (less than one-third) of their growth. At that time they were still expanding mainly by setting up their own new enterprises abroad. However, by the beginning of the 1960s, the method of absorption of foreign competitions had become the main source of their expansion (accounting for more than one-half of it) and, by the beginning of the 1970s, it had become the dominant source of their expansion (accounting for nearly two-thirds of it).

In other words, the transnational corporations are plunderers on such a scale and of such greediness as has never before been known in the history of imperialism.

What is the concrete effect of the new economic giants on relations between states within the framework of the world capitalist economy?

#### Clash of Competitors

In the system of interstate relations under monopolist capitalism the transnational corporations become an unprecedented catalyze of contradictions and uneven development.

Embodying the irreconcilable differences in economic interests of the competing private empires that rely on the support of the governments of the countries of their headquarters, they primarily contribute to an intensification of contradictions among the developed capitalist states. At the same time as the strategic goals of the individual state imperialism on the international scene are aimed at forming a common front against the world of socialism and the national liberation forces, the transnational corporations act by their very nature as a clear centrifugal factor. The main reason for this--the achieved level of concentration--compels them to wage a

struggle for a redivision of the system of world capitalist economy in proportion to the economic power of each of them. The transnational corporations are energetically drawing their "parent" imperialist states into this struggle. And the latter obtain very considerable financial and other gains from the foreign operations of "their" giants. And what is even more, in some cases the bourgeois state appears as a direct partner or even the sole owner of transnational corporations of first magnitude (British Petroleum in Britain, Compagnie Francaise de Petrol and Renault in France, Volkswagen in the FRG and so forth). For this reason the governments of imperialist countries defend with their might and main the interests of such corporations of "theirs" and act as a battering ram in breaking the borders and restrictive barriers of other states. All this creates a mechanism that organically generates interstate frictions, clashes and conflicts.

As regards the affiliation of the controlling national capital assets, the club of the largest transnational corporations is quite diverse. About half of its members are American corporations and they are followed proportionally by the Japanese, British, French, West German and other companies. However, only for the American monopolies are foreign production operations the dominant means of struggle for world markets. If we compare the correlations between the foreign production operations and the national commodity exports at the beginning of the 1980s, the proportion was 5.3 to 1 for the United States and an average of 1.3 to 1 for the West European countries and Japan. This is explained by the fact that, with the exception of the United States, the developed capitalist countries are forced to rely to a considerable extent on imports of raw materials. Therefore in order to maintain their trade balance, they must balance such imports by expanding commodity exports. Furthermore, in general, their capital export opportunities are considerably smaller than those of the United States. Conversely, in the "old-fashioned" area of commodity exports, Western European and, particularly, Japanese companies are substantially crowding the United States in the world markets. Thus, in the 1962-77 period, the U.S. share of overall exports of industrial products of the developed capitalist countries to the Third World markets declined from 36 to 23 percent, whereas Japan's share increased from the previous 11 percent to 25 percent; the positions of the FRG, France and Italy also improved to some extent.

For this reason, the American corporations continue to have a solid lead in directly breaking into the economy of their competitors. And in this connection the American transnational corporations act with utmost mercilessness and ruthlessness in neutralizing their competitors. We have already seen that the general correlation of the sources of the growth of American "transnationals" abroad is now 1 to 2. In other words, for every single enterprise built abroad by themselves they absorb two local enterprises. However, in West European countries as a whole where the positions of American capital are above the arithmetical average of the firmness of its positions in the world as a whole, this proportion increases to 1:3. In the Common Market countries where these positions are even stronger, the correlation rises to 1:5. And, finally, in Canada, where the domination of American capital is universally known, the proportion exceeds the correlation of 1:7.

All in all, as the very latest research shows, the American transnational corporations have undoubtedly raised the general temperature of competition in Western Europe. On the other hand, in recent years they have themselves begun to give up some of the positions that they had captured earlier. The most striking example of this development was the forced displacement of all West European operations of the American Chrysler automobile company in 1978. Nevertheless, now and in the immediate future, the transnational corporations will undoubtedly continue to be primarily an American phenomenon and a tool of mainly American imperialism and its means of overcoming junior partners.

Leading American experts on transnational corporations predict for their ward two main fronts of a bitter competitive struggle in the period up to the end of this century. One of these experts, R. Vernon, predicts a sharp intensification of the struggle between "two hungry giants," the United States and Japan, for sources of industrial raw materials and crude oil. In this struggle the Japanese monopolies have already improved their positions at the expense of the United States in the procurement of iron ore and bauxite, have moved ahead of the United States in the procurement of copper ore, and are able to obtain better conditions than the United States for crude oil imports. According to another expert, M. Conant of the Exxon oil giant, the second future front of the interimperialist struggle will be a sharp intensification of rivalry between the West European countries and the United States in the next decade--as he predicts it--for access to the Middle East oil that is already seriously shattering the NATO bloc.

#### Revolt on the Periphery

The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism after World War II has deprived capitalism of its direct political levers of coercion in relation to an enormous number of countries that had liberated themselves from colonial dependence. Under these conditions the transnational corporations became the main economic instrument of imperialism in its attempts at maintaining the periphery of the world capitalist economy in a dependent position. Their activation in developing countries is distinctly oriented toward suppressing any independent economic development of these countries and preserving them as rightless appendages of the imperialist power centers.

R. Roa, Cuba's minister of foreign affairs, has given a concise and capacious characterization of the consequences of bossing of the economics of developing countries by transnational corporations: "Experience shows," he said at the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly in 1974, "that this type of investment is deepening the structural discrepancy in the economies of developing countries, increasing their dependence on the imperialist centers, exhausting their natural resources and exploiting their national labor reserves." On the whole, the growth and spreading of transnational corporations in the economy of developing countries represents a special kind of backbone of the policy of neocolonialism.

The transnational plunderers shrink from nothing to preserve their domination over the periphery of the world capitalist economy. For instance, at the beginning of the 1970s, they acted as the mainspring of economic blockade of the national unity government of Chile and, subsequently, also of its direct



overthrow. Strictly speaking, they calculated thereby not only to cut short the developing process of economic decolonization and economic liberation of developing countries. They also intended to turn back the wheels of history and start a process of recolonization. The statement made by President C. Allende at the 27th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1972 was truly prophetic in this respect. "What we now witness, he said, "is a bitter struggle between the enormous transnational corporations and sovereign states. What is taking place in Chile is the beginning of a new stage in the struggle between imperialism and the Third World developing countries."

Contradictions are growing primarily in connection with the abnormal influence of transnational corporations in the development of the economic periphery of capitalism. For instance, in the 1973-79 period alone, the share of South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan in the overall exports of developing countries disproportionally increased from one-half (48 percent) to nearly two-thirds (61 percent) of these exports. This happened because they were transformed into veritable export bridgeheads of transnational, primarily American and Japanese corporations, making use of a cheap labor force.

On the other hand, the transnational corporations and the imperialist powers that support them are sparing no efforts to prevent the establishment of an independent economy of the developing countries. They see the development of these countries' own industry as a direct threat to their interests and their monopolist positions. "A transfer of the world's industrial potential to the 'peripheral' countries is taking place," the well-known Trilateral Commission notes with concern. "The solution of this problem represents the central task on the agenda of the coming 2 decades and beyond." They threaten young states that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence with all kinds of penalties, up to the use of military force, if they try to pull themselves out of the state of economic dependence.

In other words, the apologists of imperialism themselves are now unwittingly moving toward the conclusions that have become an axiom of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the consequences of the uneven development under capitalism. At a certain stage, the contradictions of this development inevitably grow into most dangerous crises, intensify the aggressiveness of imperialism, and give rise to tendencies of solving the problems by brute force, up to unleashing wars. Precisely this is the scale of the current increasing shocks in the world capitalist system, the shocks that are fraught with danger for all mankind.

#### The Economic Levers of Neocolonialism

We have already accustomed ourselves to the fact that periodic crises of overproduction, waves of mass unemployment, bursts of inflation, currency upheavals and trade wars--all this and much more is a habitual condition of the chronically sick capitalist system. However, behind these diseases of the last exploitative society, diseases which have become a daily feature, symptoms of irreversible complications for this society have appeared more and more clearly in recent years. New, gigantic confrontations are growing within the framework of the world system of the capitalist economy.



In recent decades, despite the severe blow to, and disintegration of imperialism's colonial system, the world capitalist economy as a whole has nevertheless avoided irreversible stoppages. This has happened on account of two factors, both of which have now begun to expire. First, there has been a relatively stable growth in production in the leading capitalist countries. However, now the long-term--that is, in the next 10-15 years--trend for this group of countries is believed to be one of a dying down of this growth, at the very least, and even direct stagnation in a number of cases. This carries the threat of unprecedented, primarily social complications in the main centers of capitalist power. Second, the steady increase in the volume of world trade has served as an important "locomotive of growth" for the world capitalist economy as a whole in the period since World War II. Over the course of 30 years--from 1950 to 1980--it has grown 30 times in monetary terms and 7.5 times in real terms, taking inflation into account. But in 1981 growth stopped and in 1982 there was an absolute drop in this trade. The main thing, however, is that no one in the West sees any prospects in renewing the normal operation of this "locomotive." Correspondingly, a sharp intensification in competitive struggle is inevitable on the established, but nevertheless shrinking, like shagreen leather, capitalist markets.

The ideologists of imperialism realize how ominous even the prospect of stagnation in the growth of the world economy and trade is for it. In 1980, a work by W. Diebold, considered fundamental in the United States in the search for a way out of the present situation, emphasized that "without at least a certain degree of economic growth, the social and political stability of the West could be threatened." The second point: consequently one must "avoid an accumulation of dissatisfaction which could turn into revolution."

The essence of the search now proceeding within this context in the West is, however, of an openly imperialist nature. It consists in the fact that the developed capitalist powers, and particularly the leading powers, must, with the aid of various kinds of levers, primarily economic, "rectify" the development of the world capitalist economy in such a way as to extract the maximum profit as before by means of continuing the exploitation of its periphery. It is a question of gambling on the success of neocolonialism in the economic sphere.

The most cynical work in this respect, from the point of view of proclaiming the aims of the leading imperialist power--the United States, is the research work published there in 1980 entitled "The Weapon of Wealth. U.S. Foreign Policy and the Transnational Corporations." Its main postulates are as follows. The United States is no longer in a position to win back the military superiority it enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s. Consequently its most effective means of struggling for supremacy must be its own transnational corporations, or, to put it another way, "flexing its non-military muscles (that is, the weapon of wealth)." This weapon, in the opinion of the authors of the concept, can be successfully used against recalcitrant developing countries, obstinate U.S. allies, and, finally, against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. However, at present the majority of researchers in the West no longer consider aims of this kind to be realistic; aims which are based on narrow, nationalist economic policies and pursued by the United States--a "lone wolf" among the imperialist powers.

The prevailing trend of thought there now is how to pool the efforts of all three of the main centers of imperialist power in a joint policy of collective neocolonialism. This line is advocated in particular by the powerful unofficial Council for International Relations in New York in conjunction with its sister organizations in Bonn, Paris and London, and also by the well-known Trilateral Commission, which is supported by leading economic and political circles in the United States, the Common Market countries and Japan.

In accordance with this predominant approach, the United States can no longer dictate orders within the "world economic system" on its own. Consequently, the "best way" to set the development of this system on the proper rails is, quote, to pool the efforts of a narrow group of "six or seven" (another variation: "five or six") leading Western powers. This scheme envisages restructuring the world capitalist system in an economic respect into a number of "concentric circles." the core or "inner circle" of this organization would be formed by a narrow group of leading Western countries, the "second circle" by all the developed capitalist countries as a whole, and, finally, the "widest circle" by the developing countries. Of course, "establishing the rules for the system as a whole" would be the strict prerogative of the first group. More open exposition of the same concept shows that such a "graduated system" would be "distinctly oligarchical" and would have to have an "openly hierarchical nature" of the supremacy of the strong. It would be aimed, first, at deflecting the "most vociferous" demands of the developing countries and, second, at "setting up a buffer" against economic influence on this system by the socialist countries.

It is indicative to examine by what methods it is proposed to operate when this structure of collective neocolonialism has been established. These methods primarily consist in undermining, splitting and disrupting economic and political organizations which join the developing countries together. These include: OPEC, the Group of 77, which is the largest organization of developing countries, OAU and even OAS, if it escapes the control of the United States. But, once again, the main thing is the economic lever provided by the fact that the developing countries lack their own major sources of finance for development and must go cap-in-hand in this key respect to the developed capitalist countries.

The purse which is in the hands of the developing countries, is considered the most effective ultimate argument. The use of this argument reveals the whole imperialist essence of the aims put forward. They say without any inhibition that "the rich countries and the international financial institutions would help to finance the reorientation of production in the Third World" in such a way as to stifle undesirable exports from these countries. In such a case the imperialist powers would resolve the following problems for the young liberated states: "which branches must be expanded and which must be reduced and where," "applying the brake to the process of rapid expansion" of production in these countries, compiling "lists of approved and unapproved branches of industry" in these countries and so forth.

There is, however, an obvious flaw in all such layouts, and it is obvious even to their authors. It is admitted, for example, that although the Western

governments are mainly behind efforts to knock together a unified block of Western powers against the developing countries, the last word, the "key role" in this goes to the transnational corporations. But the latter, despite the encouraging, quote, fact of their "relatively small number," which it would seem must facilitate cooperation between them, cannot, by virtue of their very nature, resist competition. More concrete research works available in the West show that the feuds between the transnational corporations of even one "nationality" are not decreasing, but increasing. Thus, according to research carried out in Western Europe at the beginning of the 1980s, merging between these firms and local companies will also in the future be much rarer than the concentration of capital on a national basis.

The difficulties of giving birth to collective neocolonialism do not, of course, lessen the colossal danger it poses the developing countries. However, from the point of view of the most aggressive forces of imperialism, the economic noose is far from being the most effective means of keeping the periphery of the world capitalist economy under the control of the West by force. What is more, these circles, primarily in the United States, are much more interested in individual, rather than joint control.

#### The War for Resources

A fundamental change has taken place within U.S. ruling circles as a whole since the assumption of power by the Reagan administration and the most bellicose forces that are behind it. They mainly think to overcome the crisis of world capitalism and to continue the U.S. policy of hegemonism by means of crossing over to noneconomic, or, more precisely, to military means. Such is the direction of the current policy of Washington and Wall Street, not only outside the world economic system of capitalism--against the world of socialism, but also inside it--in relation to states liberated from colonial dependence. In this respect, it is still admitted that attempts to use military force against socialism carry considerable risk. But as far as the possibility of returning to direct force in matters connected with the developing countries is concerned, all restrictions are now feverishly being lifted in the United States.

The most bellicose, the most militaristic plans against the Third World, plans drawn up long ago by the most "hawk-minded" American "brain trusts," are now being publicly proclaimed. In 1982, in particular, a research work by the Stanford Scientific Research Institute, which is part of the Stanford academic complex in California, was published; its title--"Seven Variations of Tomorrow." Of these seven variations, as the authors write, the two "conceivable alternatives for America in the next 2 decades" envisage increasing reliance on the resources of "economic might" in U.S. policy. However, the overwhelming majority of the variations--five out of seven--envisage the United States waging a direct "war for resources" in the Third World. It predicts, for example, U.S. military interventions in the Middle East (in four variations), in Asia--on the territory of the Philippines, Iran, Indonesia and even China, and in Latin America--primarily against Mexico and also in Africa.



The appetites of the authors of these plans are so great that the traditional method of cover is openly rejected, while U.S. military operations against the liberated countries are explained by the necessity, quote, of "protecting" them against the Soviet Union. In this case no particular secret is made of the fact that it is a question of punitive operations against "the rising challenge on the part of the Third World with regard to the legality of Western domination." A protracted "war for resources," once begun, continue the strategists of American imperialism's neocolonial wars, "could linger on for a long time." It would be, in their opinion, "an unbroken series of conflicts" describing "a circle around the Soviet Union and 'n other parts" of Africa, Asia and Latin America. As these authors state in conclusion: "This future is a gloomy one. We could find ourselves faced with a war lasting decades, or possibly a century." How can one fail to recall here Lenin's predictions concerning the possibility of "decades" of armed struggle by the imperialist powers in order to artificially preserve capitalism!

In its turn, the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University in Washington published in the same year--1982--a research work entitled "A Future of Conflicts in the 1980s." This, as it notes, is a "prediction of situations giving rise to conflicts of low intensity (thus do the authors refer to conflicts which do not turn into a world war--R.O.) and which will probably threaten U.S. national interests in the 1980s." These conflicts must, they predict, take place "chiefly in the Third World," the their main source will be "competition for natural resources, particularly for energy resources and strategic mineral resources." As a whole, the authors of these research works see the "third world" as being literally covered with a thick network of punitive U.S. military expeditions.

The fact that members of the Stanford academic complex and the Georgetown center who worked out interventionist aims of this kind have today settled in large numbers in top foreign policy posts in the Reagan administration is established. It is even more symptomatic, however, that all the practical policies of American imperialism are now generally based precisely on such guidelines with regard to the developing countries. The formation and accelerated strengthening of "rapid deployment forces," the setting up on 1 January 1983 of a "central command" for the Pentagon which oversees the situation in 19 African and Asian countries, U.S. military operations in the Middle East (against Lebanon) and in Central America (against Grenada)--all this is direct preparation by American imperialism for concentrated military interventions against the young liberated states.

#### The Historic Role of Socialism

And so, the crisis in the world system of the capitalist economy, which is a component part of capitalism's general crisis, has come to a particularly dangerous threshold.

Imperialism's aggressiveness, which has intensified in these conditions, and its threateningly rearing vast military machine are today aimed primarily against the world of socialism. By example alone, socialism has already provided a radically different alternative for mankind. By its very existence



it hampers the freedom of movement of those who advocate the use of force as a method of resolving the contradictions within the capitalist system.

In this respect, socialism, which opposes the most aggressive forces of imperialism with its economic and military might aimed at preserving peace and preventing a nuclear catastrophe, protects the interests of the whole of mankind, including the possibility of independent development for countries liberated from the chains of "classic" colonialism. Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has noted that in the world arena the Soviet Union has to deal with political forces devoid of good will and deaf to the arguments of reason. "And here," he emphasized, "an indispensable role is played by the restraining power of our defense potential. Now it is not only a guarantee of the creative labor of the Soviet people, but also a guarantee of universal peace on earth."

The might of socialism now considerably complicates attempts by ultrareactionary forces headed by U.S. imperialism to reverse the course of world history, including on the periphery of the world capitalist economy. Even the authors of the interventionist scenarios from the Georgetown center are forced to admit that when considering the prospects of future American interventions against the developing world, one must be aware of how the USSR's military potentials have changed. One of the most active propagandists in the United States of the policy of gambling on military force, R. Tucker, frankly admits that if the Soviet Union did not exist, the United States and other Western powers would already have rained down the whole of their might on the young states. "It is difficult to imagine," he writes, "that the process we are witnessing (he refers to the growing confidence of nonaligned and other developing countries--R.O.) could continue indefinitely if the Soviet Union were absent. Sooner or later the consequences of a continuation (by these countries--R.O.) of a course which has been pursued since the end of the 1960s would almost certainly lead to a reaction by the Western countries and the reestablishment of control by the imperialist powers.

Consequently, it is not surprising that Tucker regards the present program for a super arms race primarily as a means of "making Moscow understand that the clock has been turned back by at least 15 years" (in another place he says "by 30 years"), to the time when the United States enjoyed absolute military superiority. The United States' ultimate aim in this respect, says Tucker, must be to "restore a normal world, normal in a political respect." He believes such a world to be one in which the imperialist states would once again play that role "to which their power gives them the right." Thus, it is a question of returning to the laws of the jungle, to the triumph of crude force in relations between states.

The circle closes. Gambling on seizure, robbery and force has been and remains the guiding star of the last exploitative society. This policy is the deep cause of its present aggressiveness, which threatens the entire world,

the whole of mankind. But even imperialism's potentials in this respect at the contemporary historical stage are far from what they were in the past. The progressive course of history works against the imperialist aggressors.

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## FIRMNESS IN STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 103-104

[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] The class battle which the 150,000-strong detachment of British miners, rallied in the national miners' trade union, has been waging for nearly one year, has become an outstanding and very significant event of prime importance in the varied sociopolitical life of the capitalist countries.

The specific purpose of the strike is to block the closing down of several mines and nationalized coal enterprises, announced by the government, and to prevent the layoff of 20,000 workers. However, this labor conflict, which broke out on 12 March 1984, as it was initially known, quite rapidly developed into a real battle which spread over the entire British coal industry and became a visible symbol of the increasing struggle for the right to work, waged ever more decisively by the working class under the conditions prevailing in a developing capitalist state.

The enviable unity, steady militancy and exceptional persistence in supporting their demands despite major difficulties and privations were what the strikers displayed over the past months. They had to resist not only attempts to frighten them with the prospect of inevitable defeat in their uneven struggle against the power of the state or to divide their ranks with exhortations and promises to which the National Coal Industry Board, their opponent, resorted, but also masked police repressive actions against striking pickets guarding the mines from strike breakers, legal persecutions of the strikers, including, for some, lengthy jail terms, detentions, freezing the bank accounts of the miners' trade unions, etc. Let us point out that the British authorities had thoroughly prepared themselves for the conflict which they themselves had provoked, during the spring and summer months more advantageous to them, having stockpiled fuel for an entire year in advance. Special police forces, which were given permission to use all possible means, including firearms, were mobilized for the struggle against the "internal enemy," as the strikers are referred to in conservative circles. All of this, according to N. Kinnock, the leader of the British Labor Party, created in the striking areas "a situation of brutality and violence such as the country had not witnessed for the past 50 years."

So far, the efforts of the governmental machinery have proved futile: the militant spirit of the miners remains undaunted. Now, at the end of the 10th month of the strike, naturally the strikers and their families find themselves in a difficult material situation. The government is relying precisely on hunger and other privations as its main weapon, categorically refusing to make any concessions to the miners. In turn, the strikers rely on the material and moral support of the other organized detachments of the British working people which, incidentally, so far had engaged only in sporadic acts of solidarity with the strikers, for they are still under the impression created by the continuing consequences of the economic decline and high unemployment. The miners are also relying on the international solidarity of their class and professional brothers in other countries. Unquestionably, however, what keeps the flame of the struggle alive is the will to continue it, shown by the strikers themselves, and by the overwhelming majority of the population in the areas of the conflict.

Whatever the outcome of the struggle may be, it is already clear that the strike of the British miners has become a significantly greater event than simply one more battle between opposite classes, which continues unabated on all continents. The uncompromising nature of the clash convincingly proves the particular significance it has assumed in the postwar history of the British, and not only British (as confirmed by the attention it has drawn to itself in other countries) labor movement. It was no accident that the London SUNDAY TIMES described it as a "watershed in British political life." The West German journal STERN emphasized that the conflict "has developed into a decisive clash between the workers and the conservative government which is trying to destroy the militant trade union movement."

Today it is precisely a question of the militancy of the trade union movement in the capitalist countries at the present stage and its ability properly to serve the vital interests of the broad toiling masses under the new drastically changing conditions of the class struggle in the West. As we know, today these conditions are defined above all by the aggravated social tension created as a result of the profound economic decline and the fast growth of the permanent army of unemployed resulting from the difficulties created by the crisis and the technological changes in production, related to the development of the scientific and technical revolution based on the rules dictated by monopoly capital. This worsens the instability in the situation of the working class--its living standard, consumption, social value of skills, the education of the working people and their professional future and social status.

The situation is worsened by the policy of right-wing conservative forces, which are in power in a number of leading countries, expressing the interests of the most reactionary wing of the monopoly bourgeoisie and actively pursuing a course of further redistribution of the national income in favor of the monopolies, above all those engaged in the production of armaments. As they pursue their line, these governments try maximally to weaken the trade unions and to undermine their ability to wage an efficient struggle.



The bourgeois mass information media and the other Western countries demand of the trade unions, almost hysterically, "to review their role in society." One can easily understand the type of "reviewing" they have in mind. By referring to the experienced economic difficulties, which allegedly are of a "national" nature, the ruling class is trying to exploit the traditionally inherent trade union tendency to reconcile itself with the capitalist order in order to achieve the organic involvement of the organized labor movement in the political structures which are entirely at the service of the bourgeoisie. The hope is obviously based on the intention of using the lowered militancy of the working people and individualistic feelings which have spread in some labor circles, caused by the unemployment. It is precisely such expectations that are manifested in the triumphant statement made by the American TIME magazine: "Under the strikes of governmental programs for rigid economy, the powerful Western European trade union movement, weakened by unemployment, which has reached a record level, is forced to assume defensive positions. Virtually everywhere the trade unions are facing a reduction in their ranks and weakened influence at the conference table."

Against the background of the concentrated offensive of monopolies and state authorities against the positions of the trade unions, the courageous struggle waged by the British miners is a vivid proof of the unabatable nature of the militant spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries. This exposes once again the groundlessness of bourgeois propaganda claiming an allegedly irreversible decline of the combat potential of the working class in recent decades, the erosion of its class consciousness and the advent of "class peace." This is a demonstration of courage, resolve and readiness for self-sacrifice, which K. Marx and F. Engels themselves saw as a guarantee for the future triumph of the cause of the toiling people.

It is not by chance that the British miners find themselves today in the ranks of the vanguard of the working class in the Western countries, energetically fighting for their rights and interests. The current events are a manifestation of the degree of internal unity inherent in this detachment of the British proletariat engaged in hard work, raised by the way of life in the compact miner's settlements in the principles of proletarian solidarity. Unquestionably, the most important are the combat traditions of the British coal miners, transmitted from father to son along with pride in their difficult profession and their labor skills.

Yes, the awareness of the bulk of the British miners is not as yet shaped on the basis of firm socialist convictions. However, the direct experience in class relations is its firm foundation, hence the invariable anticapitalist trend of this awareness and understanding of the nature of class antagonism. The collective memory of the British miners remembers the experience of the heroic and uncompromising miners' strike of 1926, which lasted a number of weeks and the united action in 1974. The British miner believes in the possibility of the working class to influence the course of social development and will not be led astray by bourgeois propaganda.

Regardless of the further development of the continuing strike, it is already obvious, as acknowledged by Western labor union specialists, that the demonstration of power intended by the British ruling class with a view to

teaching a clear lesson to the working people, has failed. Conversely, the strike of the British miners has become an event with a mobilizing impact on the other detachments of the labor movement, countering the confusion and disorganization among some of the working people under the new difficult conditions, contributing to the unification of the forces of the toiling people in the struggle against the consequences of the economic crisis and increased capitalist-style production efficiency.

From the very first days the militant action of the miners assumed a political nature. "The National Miners Trade Union," declared its chairman A. Scargill, "is engaged today in a social and industrial battle for Britain." The struggle is waged for asserting the right to work. It is also a struggle for the future economy of the country and against the state-monopoly system, clearly exposing illusions relative to the "above-class" nature of the bourgeois state.

Again and again, specific events confirm the wise perspicacity of Lenin's thought: "It is only the struggle that educates the exploited class; it is only the struggle which allows it to gauge its forces, to broaden its outlook, to enhance its capability, to clarify its mind and to hammer out its will" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 314).

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## COMPUTERS AND PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 105-106

[Letter to the editors by G. Smolyan, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The automation of production, economic management, planning and information services, based on the mass utilization of computers, is an inseparable and an important factor in the socioeconomic development of our society. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures To Accelerate Scientific and Technical Progress in the National Economy" emphasizes that one of the main trends in the work is the extensive automation of technological processes "on the basis of the use of automated machine tools, machines and mechanisms, standardized equipment models, industrial robots and computers." Computers are assigned high priority in the state five-year plans for the development of the national economy, science and technology and the long-term programs for the development of the country (through the year 2005). This is entirely accurate, for it is impossible to resolve the main problems of the technical retooling of the national economy and substantially to upgrade labor productivity without the use of computers, microprocessors and robots.

The comprehensive automation of processes related to heavy manual and routine labor and harmful working conditions, the installation of flexible automated production facilities and automated engineering systems are of the greatest socioeconomic importance. An essentially new level of economic planning and management may be achieved through the creation of territorial, sectorial and local organizational-economic automated control systems and their integration with the national system on the basis of computers and computer centers. The optimal solution of a number of global problems (energy, ecological, demographic, etc.) and the major social tasks in areas such as health care, social insurance, education and organization of leisure time, is equally impossible without extensive use of computers.

Computers play a leading role in increasing the defense power of our country as well.

The various aspects of computer development are currently being subjected to intensive discussions in the country. The State Committee for Science and

Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences have drafted a number of forecast programs and plans for the development of computer equipment and its application in the national economy. In these and other documents attention is focused on scientific and technical problems. At the same time, problems in the humanities, related to the creation and use of automated computer systems, are either totally ignored or, at best, assigned to provide a certain background. We believe this to be erroneous, for the social and sociocultural consequences of the development of computer technology deserve closer attention.

We believe that the new systems and complexes using computer technology must be assessed and their development planned in accordance not only with technical-economic parameters but also criteria of their social effectiveness and the role they play in improving labor and converting it into the object of the most important human need of the harmoniously developed main production force--man. This means that methods of "human," social and personal measurements of scientific and technical progress must be added to the scientific and technical and technical-economic foundations for forecasting the development of computer technology. The results of its utilization should be correlated with the social-value orientations and development targets of the entire socialist system, the advantages of which do not come automatically. In this case we must take at least two facts into consideration.

The first is that the use of computer technology, microprocessors and robots, which eliminate heavy and unattractive work, does not in itself create conditions for interesting and creative work. The roots of this problem go much deeper, touching upon education and upbringing processes. It is not excluded that mass computerization will be accompanied by the intensification of some undesirable trends in spiritual life, in particular the development of a rationalistic and strictly utilitarian perception of life and spiritual and moral values.

Secondly, something even more essential from the practical viewpoint, the mass use of computer technology involves certain changes in the very structure of human activities. It is a question, in particular, of the redistribution of manpower resources from different sectors among areas related to the production and, particularly, the use of computers and the development of program support. This will require an entirely different system of vocational guidance, training in secondary and higher schools and cadre training and retraining. Obviously, we must as of now develop an extremely cautious attitude toward the conclusions to the effect that the mass use of computers will release millions of people, reduce the size of the administrative apparatus, etc. Some worker categories will be replaced by others. Therefore, it is exceptionally important in our forecasts and programs for the development of computer technology to assess expected changes in the employment structure and to determine the nature and extent of measures for the vocational training of engineers, programmers and technicians working in the development and utilization of computer technology and the retraining of specialists in related skills.



We must begin to prepare as of now for the changes anticipated with the development and application of computer technology in the various areas of our life. We should pay attention to the reformulated social and humanitarian problems of labor, the impersonality of communications, education and the development of the person as a creative individual. Naturally, we must rely on the essential advantages of planned economic management, the collectivistic way of life and the democratic political system under socialism.

Another group of problems exists related to organizing the procedures for the interaction between man and computers. The human factor is so far being taken into consideration quite insufficiently, as confirmed by the great importance which forecasts and programs ascribe to computer "intellectualization." The essence of the matter here lies less in the uncritically borrowed terminology from foreign publications (the Japanese fifth generation computer design in particular) than the essentially inaccurate assessment of the role of the person interacting with computers. We frequently forget the active and creative function of man in target and object selection, automation levels and systems and the formulation and solution of problems with the help of computers. What is left for the person to do if we speak of automating the more complex (?) types of his intellectual activities? In the man-machine "dialogue," the parties are by no means equal partners. However, we note in scientific and technical publications a persistent trend toward equalizing the roles of the "participants in intercourse."

The Marxist concept of the social ideal is that the person is the only subject of labor, creativity and communication. "...However perfect and 'intelligent' a machine may be," wrote A. N. Leont'yev, the outstanding Soviet psychologist, "is only an intermediary in human activities in the transformation of nature. In this sense, it is essentially no different from a tool. This approach, therefore, does not separate the problems of the development of automation from those of the development of man and his creative forces and capabilities. Furthermore, it does not separate the solution of the 'automation and man' problem from the social conditions and social consequences of technical progress" ("Psikhologicheskiye Issledovaniya" [Studies in Psychology]. Moscow, 1970, p 12). These thoughts are quite relevant in this period of universal computerization.

Nor should we ignore the psychological problems related to the organization of the direct interconnection between man and computer and the use of computer technology in already existing organizational structures of human activities. Obviously, it has become necessary to formulate special measures to provide psychological support of the activities of users of automated systems, in particular in surmounting the psychological barrier in "communicating" with the machine, in providing professional training of the users for their work and in meeting their personal creative needs. Furthermore, attention should be paid to the formulation of educational measures aimed at surmounting the still-encountered internal opposition to the use of machines in traditional

human areas of activities such as, for example, designing, information services, etc. It is only under such circumstances that computer technology will begin really to "contribute" more than it currently "takes."

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## IS THIS THE WAY WE PLAN FEED PRODUCTION?

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) pp 107-111

[Letter to the editors by A. Dusheyko, candidate of biological sciences, Kiev]

[Text] Feed production is a permanent item on the agenda. I have had to deal with it as a veterinarian and, over the past 10 years, a scientific associate at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Biochemistry imeni A. V. Palladin. The combination of contemporary achievements in biology with the practice of livestock feeding became my life's purpose. I would like to share a few considerations on what I consider basic reasons for the lag in the feed base and the means to eliminate it.

I believe that in order successfully to implement the Food Program, which was adopted at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the decisions of the October 1984 Plenum on the development of land reclamation, and the extensive application of the practical experience of the Belgorod Oblast Party Organization in upgrading the effective utilization of animal feed resources, approved by the Central Committee Politburo, in animal husbandry and reducing grain outlays for animal feed purposes, a new approach to feed production planning is necessary above all.

We say that "the plan is the law." Any effort to circumvene the plan is considered a violation of the law. This circumstance assigns the planning organs great responsibility, for errors in planning inevitably lead to tangible material and moral losses. The essence of feed production planning is harmoniously to combine two sectors--crop growing and animal husbandry. Two centuries ago, A. T. Bolotov, the outstanding Russian natural scientist, wrote that "observing the necessary proportion between cattle breeding and grain growing is the most important point of attention in agriculture. These two things are so closely interrelated that neglect of one would inevitably harm the other." Therefore, the approach is not new. However, it is not always accurately observed.

Year after year, from one five-year plan to another, traditionally (and with full justification) we give priority to the grain problem. Unfortunately, however, the plans do not specify precisely the type of grain and the amount to be produced. It was one thing during the 1930s, when we were short of food

grain, and another in the 1980s, when we are short of grain for animal feed. Despite the radically changed situation, planning has largely remained unchanged.

After receiving their grain plan, the managers of oblasts, rayons and farms try to plant the crops which, under their circumstances, guarantee the highest gross harvest with the lowest possible outlays and which are considered traditionally the most "prestigious." This applies above all to wheat. It strongly prevails over the other crops because it is relatively less labor-intensive and subject to better selection work.

Unquestionably, wheat is a most excellent product and we are legitimately proud of the fact that we have long resolved the problem of white bread and that the country can create the necessary stocks of wheat grain; the trouble, however, is that due to shortages in barley, pulse crop grain and other feed grain, we have begun to use a great deal of wheat for cattle feed (up to 40-50 percent of the crop in many rayons). Wheat, however, is a strictly comestible crop. One can hardly agree with the view of those who claim that "wheat is equally needed for flour and mixed feeds...." (NAUKA V SSSR, No 2, 1983, p 119).

As we know, wheat grain is highly caloric. However, if a high percentage of it is used in mixed feeds, the quality of the latter is adversely affected. The point is that the biological value of protein (i.e., the share of actually digested nitrogen by animals) in wheat is very low. Compared with other types of grain, it is the most unbalanced type of feed, particularly in terms of irreplaceable amino acids. For example, in order to satisfy the daily need of hogs for the irreplaceable amino acid lysine, such ("wheat") protein should be fed in amounts triple the norm. This adversely affects the condition of the animal and its productivity. That is why, feeding livestock with "white bread" is biologically harmful and economically unprofitable. Even most conservative estimates show that in hog and poultry breeding alone overexpenditures of concentrated feeds amount to some 25 million tons in our country. This is due to a number of reasons, one of the principal ones being "wheat" rations.

A look at worldwide agricultural practices would prove that even wherever wheat harvests are high, little wheat is used as animal feed; usually it accounts for between 2 and 10 percent of the mixed feeds.

In recent years, a considerable share of the gross grain harvest has been used to feed cattle. Only about one-half of this amount is feed grain (excluding wheat). The balance consists essentially of wheat. That is why the plan should mandatorily stipulate the necessary amounts of grain to be raised for food and for animal feed, applicable above all to barley, corn, oats and, particularly, pulse crops.

In general, in terms of feed procurements, one could hardly consider accurate to indicate only the overall quantity of fodder units, as is frequently the case in our plans. Animal productivity depends not only on the amount of fodder units supplied but also on whether or not they are balanced in terms of all nutritive substances. The current approach to feed production planning



frequently turns into a one-sided aspiration to obtain as many fodder units per hectare as possible, i.e., to concentrate on "gross output" to the detriment of quality. It is as though the country needs only fodder units instead of meat, milk and eggs.

Many people have a rather simplistic view of the fodder unit: the basic thing, they say, is energy (i.e., its caloric value) and the protein it contains. To a certain extent this approach is proper in feeding cattle. Yet the rations fed to hogs and poultry must mandatorily contain corresponding amounts and ratios of irreplaceable amounts of nutritive substances such as amino acids, vitamins and macro- and microelements. The task of planning is to prevent a shortage of anyone of these substances, for it is possible to procure (and one frequently does!) "empty" fodder units from which no proper rations can be mixed: in the best of cases a significant share of the feed will go through the body of the animal uselessly, in "transit," and, worst of all, the animal may become ill and even die.

Let me cite as proof experimental data. A group of young pigs was fed a feed ration consisting of 95 percent corn, containing 11.5 percent raw protein, and all the necessary mineral substances and vitamins; another group was fed the same ration but with an addition of no more than 0.28 percent lysine and 0.04 percent tryptophan). As a result, the first group did not increase in weight over a 4-month period, whereas the second increased its weight by 560 grams daily. In other words, the animal's productivity was affected not by energy and protein but by the irreplaceable nutritional factors which were most scarce (in this case lysine and tryptophan). People involved in planning the production of feeds, starting with the kolkhoz agronomist and zootechnician, must be familiar with this law of minimum amounts and its effect.

There is a popular view that scarcity of protein in feed rations may be compensated for increasing the amount of grain fed to the animals. This problem requires clarification. That same wheat, which has improperly become just about the main ration, contains between 10 and 14 percent protein, which is a substantial amount. However, wheat protein, as we mentioned, is not of full value. The protein of other grain crops may be better but is also short of irreplaceable amino acids, such as lysine, tryptophan, trionine and methionine. Sometimes 2 and even 3 times more protein is used, compared with the norm, in feeding livestock essentially grain concentrates, thus creating an imbalance in amino acids. Numerous experiments have confirmed that this could cause even greater harm to the livestock than protein shortages. In the case of protein shortages the animals grow more slowly and are underproductive whereas with a high imbalance of amino acids they become sick and sometimes die.

This explains the urgency of ensuring animal husbandry not with protein in general, regardless of its "quality" (which is the actual trend followed in plans for feed procurement and many recommended feed rations, which stipulate merely the availability of a certain amount of protein in terms of grams per feed unit), but rich protein, balanced in terms of irreplaceable amino acids.

Some scientists have suggested that this problem be resolved through the further development of the microbiological industry. For example, in one of

his articles, A. I. Tulupnikov, VASKhNIL corresponding member, wrote that "under the conditions of our country, so far there is no other realistic way of ensuring animal husbandry with high-value protein...." The scientists claim that the production of microbe protein does not require planted areas and does not depend on soil-climatic weather conditions. Indeed, this does not require areas in crops. However, it requires extensive capacities and outlays of irrecoverable energy, not to mention other major expenditures needed for the installation of treatment systems. Land has always been and will always remain the most inexpensive production base; solar energy will remain the most inexpensive energy and the plants' organism has the most advanced technology. That is why, I believe that we should, above all, make efficient use of precisely such opportunities.

I lay no claim to originality but merely wish to repeat the frequent statement that the problem of supplying the animals with full-value protein can and must be resolved essentially by drastically increasing the size of land planted in pulse crops and grasses. In worldwide production, pulse protein accounts today for some 20 percent, compared to only 5.8 percent in our country. The main binding link between crop growing and animal husbandry should be not wheat but pulse crops and grasses. As effective holders of atmospheric nitrogen, on the one hand, they increase soil fertility, and, on the other, provide rich protein and contribute to animal husbandry intensification which, in turn, provides manure for the soil. This ensures the normal reciprocally enriching circulation of matter. It is entirely understandable that if we reduce the areas in pulse crops the cycle is broken and the most important ecological "soil-plant-animal" system is disturbed, as a result of which crop yields, livestock productivity and soil fertility decline.

The July 1978 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree stipulated that "particular attention should be paid to resolving the problem of feed protein, above all by increasing the production of pulse crops, soybean, alfalfa, clover, rape and other high-protein crops. However, it is impossible significantly to increase such output without exceeding the amount of land under feed crops. But will farm managers undertake considerably to expand the area under pulse crops, not to mention grasses, by reducing wheat crops? No, for they have their strict grain production plans. The result is that from the viewpoint of the implementation of the plan (not to mention its overfulfillment, which promises farm managers bonuses and other honors, it becomes unprofitable to plant pulse crops such as peas and soybeans. From the viewpoint of the needs of animal husbandry, the planting of pulse grain crops is economically efficient, even if crops are smaller. With excellent crops--60 quintals--wheat protein yields per hectare do not exceed 660 kilograms, whereas with yields of 20 quintals per hectare, soybeans yield 850 kilograms and peas, with an average of 30 quintals per hectare, yield 680 kilograms of protein. The main thing is that 1 kilogram of soybeans contains 6 to 7 times more lysine than a kilogram of wheat and the amount of lysine in peas is higher by a factor of 4. That is why pulse protein is not only well-digested by the animals but improves the digestion of the protein contained in barley, oats and animal feed wheat. As we know, soybean protein can replace protein of livestock origin (fish, bone and blood meal). Similar advantages are found in the other pulse crops, such as alfalfa, clover and esparto grass. In terms of protein production, 1 hectare in alfalfa is the equivalent of 5-8 hectares in

wheat. In addition to the full value protein, like other pulse grasses, alfalfa also contains scarce vitamins and microelements and many other unidentified factors which influence growth and fertility, not found in grain crops, wheat in particular.

The production of full value protein from pulse crops requires the lowest material and energy outlays compared with other crops. The cost per kilogram of digestible protein contained in peas is lower by a factor of 2.5-3 and that contained in soybean cake, by a factor of 15-18 compared to food grain crops. On an average, vegetable protein is less expensive by a factor of about 5 compared to the protein currently produced by the microbiological industry.

Although I emphasize this, I would like to stipulate that I do not oppose the development of the microbiological industry in the least. I assume, however, that it should concentrate, above all, on the production not of protein as such but of controlling feed factors such as irreplaceable amino acids (lysine, trionine, tryptophan), vitamins (B12, riboflavin and carotene), feed antibiotics and other biologically active agents. Such production would be economically efficient and would enable us drastically to upgrade animal husbandry productivity. As to microbiological protein, we should accelerate the work now initiated on converting the technology used in its production, involving the use of expensive and nonrecoverable hydrocarbons, to a technology based on the utilization of inexpensive replenishable raw materials, such as alcohol, organic acids and gases.

The solution of all such problems depends above all on the flexibility of central planning. In order to stimulate the increase in the areas planted in pulse crops and grasses, corresponding equivalents could be set. For example, yields could be assessed not in terms of quintals of produced grain but of full-value protein or, even better, lysine. Let us point out here that currently neglect in seed development and insufficient specialized equipment and the present system for material and moral incentives are not contributing to increasing the production of pulse crops, for the system is such that frequently wheat crops are planted even in areas allocated for feed crops in violation of the law.

I must emphasize yet another point in planning, directly related to feed production. Twenty years ago, a proper course was charted toward the creation of a powerful mixed feed industry. Indeed, a mixed feed plant is the link in the feed production chain which allows us to make full use of the latest achievements of the biological and other sciences. Its main purpose is to ensure the proper balancing of feeds based on the needs of the animals. Thanks to the high level of development of the mixed feed industry in many countries, the average daily weight increase has reached 600 to 700 grams for hogs and feed outlays per kilogram weight increase do not exceed 3-3.5 kilograms.

Some hog-breeding complexes in our country, in which the animals are fed essentially mixed fodder, gain approximately 660 grams per day, with an outlays of 4.2 fodder units per kilogram of weight increase. This indicator substantially exceeds the national average. In many parts of the country, however, the mixed feed industry works in such a way that no tangible drop in



feed outlays per unit of output takes place. In Vinitsa Oblast, for example, several years ago the number of mixed feed plants had reached 22. Thanks to this, about 60 percent of all grain crops used in animal husbandry were included in the mixed feeds. Furthermore, there were already 20 shops and production lines for various types of briqueted and granulated feeds already in operation, and 280 machine units producing vitamin-grass meal. However, feed outlays per unit of output remained virtually the same: 1.7 feed units per kilogram of milk produced in the oblast and 10 per kilogram weight increase in hog breeding, which roughly equaled the 1950 level. At that time, however, the animals were fed essentially rough fodder and virtually no grain. Now, after such high investments have been made in the mixed feeds industry, and when two-thirds or more of hog rations are made of mixed feeds, the use of 10 fodder units per kilogram weight increase is an indication of crying irresponsibility!

If we bear in mind that 50 to 70 percent of the cost of pork is the feed, it is easy to explain why in many parts of the country one or two out of three hog-breeding farms are losing. The reason is that the farms send the mixed feed plants good-quality grain and receive in exchange an unbalanced feed mix, which costs nearly 50 percent more than the grain they deliver (excluding transportation and other expenditures). As a rule, the grain is delivered during the summer, when the weather is dry, while the mixed feed is received essentially in winter or spring, when the slushy roads increase fuel use and damage the equipment. This results in substantial farm losses. Meanwhile, the personnel of fixed feed plants are sometimes even given bonuses for fulfilling their production plan of actually substandard goods. Why not demand of such plants production guarantees, as is practiced in many countries: indicating for each mixed feed batch outlays per unit of output guaranteed by the plant.

Someone may ask why is planning necessary in this case? Because here as well, once again we have given preference to quantity: many mixed feed plants have been built but not equipped with modern technical facilities. That is why some plants are hardly different from ordinary mills. Nor has the supply of an adequate quantity and production of microadditives been planned. All of this objectively contributes to the production of substandard and expensive mixed feeds.

As we may see, at virtually all stages--from the existing crop structure and feed procurements to mixed feed production--planning is not contributing to lowering feed costs per unit of output or to increasing livestock productivity. The only reason is that the achievements of the science of biology, its conclusions on the role of the balance of irreplaceable contributing feed factors (irreplaceable amino acids, vitamins, microelements), above all, are nowhere taken into consideration. Yet this is the base, the pivot of contemporary technology in the production of animal husbandry goods. For compared to the basic ration components--energy and protein--said substances account for an insignificantly small quantity, although the shortage, not to mention the absence of even a single one of them makes the feed poorly digested and production returns are low.



Unfortunately, currently agricultural specialists are essentially guided by recommendations based on the use of so-called standard feeding and rations developed as early as the 1930s, largely reflecting some of the erroneous views which prevailed at that time when the crops were not adapted to animal requirements but, conversely, the animals had to fit the crops yielding higher feed units per hectare, which is insufficient if we are to have high volumes of animal husbandry products.

Puzzling in this respect are the views of VASKhNIL Academician N. G. Dmitriyev, who wrote in the journal NAUKA V SSSR (No 2, 1983), that "...the more high-caloric food we feed the cattle, the faster and better it provides milk, meat and wool." He also wrote that "that is why it is more effective to use the land for plowing rather than for pasture, by a factor of 5 and, sometimes, even 15 times: the energy and content of protein in the grain and root crops (one would like to know what type of root crops contains a large amount of protein?--the author), harvested per hectare of land are substantially higher than those contained in hay" (p 119). It would be hard to imagine a more disorienting statement. Is it not as a result of following such views, even in cattle feed ratios, that we have reduced the share of hay and increased the percentage of concentrate? It is for the same reason that we have substantial milk and meat shortfalls and that frequently cows fed essentially silage and concentrates without the necessary amount of hay remain sterile. Yet, in many countries with a highly developed animal husbandry, areas planted in grass are being increased and great attention is being paid to improving the quality of grasses in natural pastures. The high content of rich protein, vitamins and microelements and the low cost of grasses and grass mixes have turned them into the main cattle feed; for the same reasons, efforts are being made to use them, inasmuch as zootechnical norms allow it, in feeding other types of livestock.

It is a pity that science itself allows unscientific planning. This is exemplified by the "Comprehensive Plan for the Production and Utilization of Feeds in Vinnitsa Oblast Farms for 1980-1985," compiled in its time by the Ukrainian Scientific Research Feeds and Fertilizers Institute of VASKhNIL's Southern Department. Thus, according to this plan, the 1985 hog ration should consist of 84 percent grain, including 48 (almost one-half!) wheat and no more than 6 percent barley, 14 percent corn and 16 percent pulse crops. Yet even our fathers and grandfathers knew that it is better to feed hogs barley than wheat; in addition to grain feed, hogs should be fed pulse and other grasses, fresh fodder and all sorts of waste. The Belgorod hog breeders improved on the old experience and changed the crop structure by increasing areas in peas, alfalfa, corn and root crops. The Rossiya Kolkhoz, for example, is feeding the livestock no more than 67 percent concentrates instead of 90 percent as in the past, the balance consisting of a mixture of silage, beets, potatoes, grass meal and various additives; the kolkhoz's pork production has increased drastically.

The Vinnitsa scientists did not base feed production planning on norms of nutritive substances, particularly those considered irreplaceable and rationed, which have been well-studied and tested in worldwide science and practice. Yet, it is only on their basis that an optimal plan for the procurement of grain feeds and rough, fresh and other fodder can be drafted.

Such norms must become the basis of planning on all levels, from the individual farms to the Gosplan.

The planning bodies, which have not been issued scientifically substantiated recommendations, frequently proceed from the amount and variety of feeds procured the previous year or five-year plan, automatically increasing them in proportion to the planned increase in output, i.e., actually proceeding from the previously used inferior and imbalanced rations, planning the same type of inferior and unbalanced feeding of the livestock in the future. If we continue to apply this principle, we would never have a firm fodder base, for this is like pouring water through a sieve. The planning principle should be different. Based on the country's need for meat, milk, eggs and other animal husbandry products, we should begin by determining the number of livestock by species and sex and age groups and only then determine the need not only in terms of feed units or protein, as has been the case so far, but also in terms of irreplaceable and particularly rationed nutritional factors. It is only then, taking into consideration the chemical composition of the feeds, crop yields, their economical and biological value, harvest times, etc., that we should determine how much and what crops to plant in order to achieve the maximal satisfaction of the macro and micro needs of the animals and obtain maximal livestock output per unit of land area. This approach alone would enable us to determine what should and could be obtained from the fields, meadows and pastures and what should be provided by the chemical, microbiological and mixed feed industries. Our country has a great deal of varied agricultural areas; all of them and each separate farm (based on the principle of planning from below) should have its well-planned and scientifically substantiated set of crops with an indication of the size of the area to be planted under each one of them.

Since two "steps" exist in the conversion of solar energy into animal husbandry products--soil-feed and feed-livestock--it is important to coordinate them better; in that case more solar energy will convert into nutritive plant substances and the plants will result in greater animal productivity. This requires a coordination between the macro- and microstructures of the soil and the needs of the plants and, secondly, a coordination between the macro- and microstructure of the plants raised for fodder with the needs of the livestock.

A steady increase in the production of fully balanced nutritive substances in animal feeds, reducing their outlays per unit of animal husbandry output and, therefore, the steady growth of animal husbandry output per unit of land area and invested labor, can be achieved as a result of a scientific substantiated revision in the structure of crops and yield increases, development of land reclamation, upgrading productivity and improving the quality of grasses in meadows and pastures and restructuring the work of the mixed feed and microbiological industries. This, above all, is the essence of intensified animal husbandry and overall agricultural output.

Our country has a tremendous potential for increasing the production of feeds and upgrading their quality. We have no objective reasons for lagging in this matter. The reasons are essentially subjective and their elimination would

not require billions of rubles but knowledge, creative approach, conscientiousness and a high feeling of responsibility.

The purpose of scientific planning is to create conditions for highly productive toil and obtaining maximally efficient economic and social results. A bad and ignorantly drafted plan can trigger indifference, bureaucratism and whitewashing. Conversely, a good plan encourages enthusiasm, creative energy and initiative. Scientific planning is the greatest accomplishment of mankind. It opens boundless opportunities for the advancement of the person, society and nature. This makes it the more important to make faster and fuller use of such opportunities.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF PATRIOT EDUCATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 28 Dec 84) p 112

[Letter to the editors by R. Mirskiy, candidate of philosophical sciences, Lvov]

[Text] Soviet patriotism has played a most important role through the entire history of our multinational state, as one of the powerful factors for the unification, development and defense of the socialist fatherland. Patriotism is an inseparable feature of the new historical, social and international community--the Soviet people--and one of the basic principles of communist morality. The status held by this phenomenon demands paying constant attention to the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of the youth and all working people. This is an important prerequisite for the successful advancement of developed socialism.

In developing in the individuals the valuable qualities of patriot and internationalist, today it is more important than ever to develop in them a firm ideological immunity to various parts of bourgeois-nationalistic and cosmopolitan propaganda doctrines. It is a question of steady and comprehensive work along this line, thanks to which every Soviet person would hold firm and profoundly considered Marxist-Leninist views on such matters.

Scientific and popular science publications must be of greater help in this respect to our propaganda cadres and all personnel on the ideological front. Our scientists have made a certain contribution to the theoretical elaboration of problems of Soviet patriotism. However, some shortcomings exist in this important matter.

Thus, in a number of works the personality of the Soviet patriot continues to be considered an ideal model lacking any type of real contradictions. This approach conceals the complexity of the dialectical process of shaping a patriotic consciousness.

We also encounter a one-sided approach, according to which Soviet patriotism is exclusively the result of ideological education based on the experience in building the new society. Let us point out in this connection that patriotism encompasses and resmelts within itself all progressive historical, democratic and revolutionary traditions of the peoples of Russia, which form the sacred



patriotic arsenal of generations of Soviet people. Any artificial separation of Soviet patriotism from such natural historical roots impoverishes ideological and political education work, greatly deprives it of its live meaning and lowers its efficiency.

Attention should also be paid to the fact that in some works the term "national Soviet patriotism" appears without the necessary clarification. Its purpose seems to be to emphasize the fact that Soviet patriotism is not nonnational, and thus protect the national feature within it from any possible belittling or weakening. However, such "protection" by artificially exaggerating the role of the national factor is hardly necessary or pertinent. It seems to us that the essential role played by the national aspects of Soviet patriotism cannot constitute grounds for the manifestation of "national Soviet patriotism" as an independent type or variety of Soviet patriotism.

Nor should we ignore the various specific levels of patriotic attitude toward the Soviet homeland (such as republic, oblast, etc.) or the acknowledgment of the essential role of local patriotism. Local patriotism is a legitimate manifestation of Soviet patriotism on a certain regional level, such as city, rayon, plant or, perhaps, construction site, which could extend to a number of rayons and even oblasts (the BAM, for instance), the subject of which could be both individual members of different nationalities as well as multinational collectives. Incidentally, specific patriotic activities concentrated even on a modest site may have greater practical value and importance than the noisy patriotic rhetoric still occasionally encountered in our country. Naturally, if regional interests begin to conflict with the social, with national interests in any way, they lose their all-Soviet internationalist features and the danger appears of a conversion of local patriotism to parochialism. The study of the reasons for such transformation is important in order to wage an efficient struggle against this phenomenon.

The topics of individualism, consumerism and cosmopolitanism remain underdeveloped in connection with educating the people in Soviet patriotism. Their forms of manifestation may be a consumerist attitude toward labor, national property, public consumption funds and spiritual culture, as well as a thoughtless imitation of bourgeois behavioral standards and an uncritical attitude toward Western fashion and music. Bourgeois propaganda occasionally tries to use this in order to encourage feelings of leaving the country. All opposites of Soviet patriotism must be unquestionably qualified as antisocial phenomena which have nothing in common with the Soviet socialist way of life.

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## HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

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[Review by V. Shinkaruk, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book "Filosofiya Epokhi Rannikh Burzhuaiznykh Revolyutsiy" [Philosophy of the Age of Early Bourgeois Revolutions]. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 583 pp]

[Text] Historical-philosophical research is a major trend in the creative development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. The vital need for such research is dictated not only by the fact that science has always needed the preservation of the genetic link with its origins but also the fact that the elaboration of topical problems of dialectical and historical materialism can be successful and fruitful only when it is based on historical-philosophical experience and on its profound comprehensive interpretation and utilization. Particularly interesting among the many historical-philosophical works published over the past 20 years are studies on the development of philosophical thinking during the age of revolutionary breakdowns of the social system, when the transforming function of conceptual ideas, general theoretical concepts and sociopolitical doctrines becomes particularly clear. It is in this connection that we should point out the collective work under review, written under the direction of Academician T. I. Oizerman.

The authors have not limited themselves to familiar philosophical doctrines of said age. They have undertaken the study of nonphilosophical forms of outlook directly reflecting changes in the socioeconomic situation and dominating feelings in the social mentality of societal classes and groups, the toiling masses above all. The study of conceptual shifts in spiritual culture enabled the authors to identify the real sources of new philosophical ideas, concepts and values and the extent of their consistency with the actual social requirements and needs of revolutionary (bourgeois-revolutionary) practice.

As we know, a "high rating of revolutionary periods in the development of mankind" is inherent in Marxist-Leninist science of history (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 16, p 23). The ages of social revolutions have been and are interesting by virtue of their inordinate intensiveness and contradictoriness and expressed dialectical nature of material and spiritual processes. They yield to the schematizing so typical of idealistic and vulgar-sociological summations less than others, and in

order to understand the mechanism of the social determination of ideas, such mechanism must be considered in its entire actual complexity. It is precisely the consideration of this requirement that is the principal merit of this collective work.

The authors have avoided the common error of overestimating the level of maturity of bourgeois social relations in 16th-17th century Western Europe. As the introduction properly emphasizes, the initial accumulation (the base of the material-economic process of the age under consideration) was a "noncapitalist accumulation under the economic circumstances of capitalist production" (p 9).

The work convincingly proves that changes in social relations and institutions at that time were not the one-sided consequence of the development of markets and the breakdown of the feudal-medieval order. The new commodity-monetary economy contributed, naturally, to shaping manufacturing capitalism. However, on the other side it also brought to life strange processes of refeudalization and encouraged the greed of traditional exploiting strata. It urged on the post-feudal aggressive militarism (see pp 201-202, 206-209). The 16th and 17th centuries urgently called for new socially effective ideas precisely because they were the period of initial, but also hindered and restrained, bourgeois development. The uncertainty of spontaneously developing renovation processes and the sharp stratum-class antagonisms turned the start of the new times into a period of major "spiritual revolutions."

The book describes the dialectical contradiction in the unity of two such revolutions: the Renaissance and the Reformation.

The antifeudal nature of the Renaissance has been covered in Marxist research quite fully. The question of the progressive importance of the Reformation, described by Engels as the "bourgeois-religious revolution," has been studied less extensively in domestic literature. The work under review fills this gap.

As a rule, bourgeois historians one-sidedly draw attention to the fact that the preaching of the Reformation broadened the social base of Christianity, for it was under its influence that the broad masses joined in the struggle for "true religion." In reality, the Reformation strengthened Christianity only to the extent to which it drew the attention of the believers to worldly (sociopolitical in particular) matters. It contributed to the secularization of social consciousness for the reason alone that its laic content was considered worthy of the believer.

This paradoxical impact of the Reformation, which is related not simply to the immanent link of ideas but also to the overall historical experience, is convincingly described in the parts prepared by D. Ye. Furman, E. Yu. Solov'yev and V. V. Lazarev. It shows the way the Reformation principle of "priesthood of all believers" laid the way to demands for estate equality and bourgeois democracy and the way the concepts of a new work ethic took shape in religious clothing, while independent critical judgments in matters of faith grew into independent social views. However, as the authors justifiably point out, "the rebellion against the dominant religion in feudal society, as it was

headed by the bourgeoisie, inevitably had to end in a reconciliation with the institutionalized religious outlook, reorganized on a bourgeois basis. This is necessarily manifested in philosophy, by virtue of its bourgeois nature (pp 50-51).

However, in a number of cases the revolutionary changes in the spiritual life of 16th-17th century society went beyond the direct interests of the bourgeoisie, breaching the narrowness of the bourgeois outlook in formulating problems which could be resolved only later. In describing this age, Engels wrote that "this was the greatest progressive change in all changes so far experienced by humankind, an age which needed giants and which created giants of the mind, passion and character, comprehensiveness and learning. The people who founded the domination of the bourgeoisie were anything but bourgeois-limited people" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 346).

The enthusiasm of civic-mindedness and social activeness was an outstanding (and instructive, to this day) feature of the philosophy of the epoch of early bourgeois revolutions. It is manifested not only in the ethical-political theories of the 17th century but in its mentality, anthropology and newly established understanding of the scientific method. To the early bourgeois philosophers, method was not merely a theoretical-cognitive problem. Initial ethical, pedagogical and political wisdom may be found in methodologically accurate knowledge. Faith in the omnipotence of the "true method" contains, naturally, a number of naive features. However, as the authors accurately note, this naivete itself was historically effective.

The second part of the book proves that the revolutionary age left its mark not only in the sociophilosophical or governmental-legal thinking. The age of radical changes have an equally deep impact on science and its methodology, logic, gnoseology and 17th-century philosophy. The merit of the authors of this part of the book (T. B. Dlugach, Ya. A. Lyatker, B. G. Kuznetsov, V. V. Sil'vestrov, M. A. Kissel', V. V. Sokolov, A. A. An'onov, V. M. Boguslavskiy and N. V. Motroshilova) lies in the skillful identification of the sociohistorical determination of this initially abstract-seeming theoretical knowledge. They showed the connection among changes in the forms of social organization of scientific research, the appearance of the institution of science and changes in the types and means of acquiring knowledge in the natural sciences. The revolution in science in the 16th-17th centuries, therefore, is related to changes in the forms of human activities. This is an essentially important method in the study of the history of human knowledge.

The section on the theory of man is of unquestionable interest. The author proves that the great philosophers of the 17th century have made unity between the social and the individual which, in the epoch of antagonistic social development could not fail to assume sharp and painful contradictions, the subject of philosophical analysis. Philosophical thinking in the epoch under consideration and, naturally, particularly its social philosophy, the philosophy of man, literally experienced the new basic principles, values and ideals which were alien to the feudal perception of the world. It acknowledged as intrinsic essential human characteristics man's aspiration toward the preservation of life, freedom, equality, reason and social



activeness or, in other words, it defended the humanistic understanding of the nature of man, developed by Marxism on a new philosophical basis. The defense of the humanistic legacy of progressive philosophical thinking of the past is accurately considered by the authors one of the most important tasks in contemporary historical-philosophical research. The entire work is characterized by its careful yet creative attitude toward the achievements of global philosophical thinking. This is understandable, for it discusses the great philosophers Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibniz and others.

This book will be of interest not only to those who like history. It will contribute a great deal to the consideration of contemporary sociocultural processes, for problems related to the transition from "traditional" (feudal, semifeudal, patriarchal, etc.) relations to higher forms of social organization, still topical in a number of areas on earth. This raises with new urgency questions such as secularizing religious awareness, the origin of scientific ways of thinking, shaping practical enterprise, awareness of the law and foundations of political knowledge.

Most importantly, the book informs us of the prehistory of ideas which to this day bring together people of different social orientations, who are fighting for peace, democracy and the assertion of humanistic values. It clearly proves that the Marxist researchers are careful and loyal guardians of the progressive legacy of the early bourgeois revolutionary age, which cannot be said of scientists who defend the exploiting nature of the foundations of capitalism.

As in any comprehensive study, the monograph authors have tried to cover all possible aspects of their topic, although not always successfully. In particular, in our view, they have paid insufficient attention to the study of internal contradictions in 16th-17th-century bourgeois philosophy which, through the confrontation between empiricism and rationalism, sensualism and the concept of innate ideas, etc. develops, in the final account, as a struggle between materialism and idealism. Naturally, in the context of interpreting the general and combined struggle waged by the early bourgeois philosophers against feudal ideology, contradictions and confrontations among them were relegated into the background. However, they were of essential importance to the development of philosophical thinking. These and a few other shortcomings are clearly the price paid for an effort to provide an overall depiction of a historical stage in the development of philosophical thinking as the philosophy of a specific age, integrating within itself a variety of philosophical doctrines developed in different countries.

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## DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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[Review by Dr of Economic Sciences E. Obminskiy of the following books: (1) "Razvivayushchiyesya Strany: Ekonomicheskiy Rost i Sotsial'nyy Progress" [Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress]. V. L. Sheynis and A. Ya. El'yanov, responsible editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 655 pp; (2) "Vostok: Rubezh 80-kh Godov (Osvobodivshiyesya Strany v Sovremennom Mire)" [The Orient--Turn of the 1980s (The Liberated Countries in the Contemporary World)]. Ye. M. Primakov, head of editorial collegium. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 269 pp; (3) "Razvivayushchiyesya Strany v Sovremennom Mire: Yedinstvo i Mnogoobraziye" [Developing Countries in the Contemporary World: Unity and Variety]. I. V. Aleshina, I. D. Ivanov and V. L. Sheynis responsible editors. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 304 pp; (4) "Sotsialisticheskaya Oryentatsiya Osvobodivshikhsya Stran. Nekotoryye Voprosy Teorii i Praktiki" [Socialist Orientation of Liberated Countries. Some Problems of Theory and Practice]. Authorship collective: K. N. Brutents, Anat. A. Gromyko, A. V. Kiva et al. Mysl', Moscow, 1982, 307 pp; (5) Anatoliy Gromyko. "Afrika: Progress, Trudnosti, Perspektivy" [Africa: Progress, Difficulties, Prospects]. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1981, 272 pp; (6) Ye. M. Primakov. "Vostok Posle Krakha Kolonial'noy Sistemy" [The East Following the Collapse of the Colonial System]. Nauka, Moscow, 1982, 208 pp; (7) G. K. Shirokov. "Promyshlennaya Revolyutsiya v Stranakh Vostoka" [The Industrial Revolution in Oriental Countries]. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 215 pp. Subsequent references to these works will be by number only]

[Text] A more profound study of changes and correlations with the experience in global developments, and identifying the common and specific features in the way the young countries approach the solution of their socioeconomic problems become increasingly topical as more than 120 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, free from colonial or semicolonial dependence, become part of global economic and political life. The international situation urgently calls for developing a clear idea of the internal transformation processes in the developing countries, for their significance in world economics and politics as a whole will be increasing and their growing role, as was noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is "one of the basic features in the contemporary world."

This is also largely related to the fact that the developing countries assume a particular position in the system of the global problems of mankind. All global problems affect the vital interests of the developing countries acutely and, frequently, painfully, organically and most directly. However, the developing world itself, taken as a whole, is also one of the most essential, dramatic and vital global problems, the solution of which presumes the elimination of the economic and social backwardness of these countries, caused by capitalism and worsened by neocolonialism, and the enhancement of the living and cultural standards of their populations. This cross between global problems and problems of the developing countries is one of the characteristic features of their status in the economic, political and social life of the contemporary world.

Based on the profound traditions of Soviet Oriental studies and scientific thinking, our country has gained significant and important experience in identifying and assessing the general and specific processes taking place in the developing world. Within a relatively short time--approximately a quarter of a century--the understanding of such processes became substantially deeper.

As early as the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, looking at the common features shared by the new huge array of young states, which had just broken with their colonial and semicolonial past, indicated their further development as being more or less uniform; less attention was paid to the specific historical aspects of the appearance of this community. The works of some researchers were influenced by the various theories of a "third way," which had become popular in the developing countries, raising to the level of an absolute the characteristics of these countries and ascribing to them the features of a virtually separate socioeconomic system. Nevertheless, even during that period of "prime accumulation" of knowledge relative to the liberated countries, many important concepts were formulated on the further directions taken by the anti-imperialist struggle for political and economic independence.

The "self-determination" processes in individual countries and parts of the developing world, which had accelerated in the 1960s and, particularly, the 1970s, and the clearly manifested social trend of such processes significantly increased the interest in the study of specific features of the individual countries. A comparison among results of such studies indicated the existence of a profound originality of processes occurring in individual developing countries and their accelerated differentiation. In the course of this development, in terms of economic aspect and social structure, some of these countries reached the level of a medium-developed capitalism, whereas the backwardness of a large group of less-developed countries and the gap between them and the developed capitalist states widened further. Furthermore, the cyclical and structural crises of the 1970s drastically intensified disparities in the developing world.

This inevitably formulated new research tasks. The old commonly used criteria of low growth rates, agrarian-raw material specialization, etc., were no longer suitable in terms of comprehensively describing the characteristics of developing countries or combining such tangibly different groups as petroleum-

exporting, new industrializing, energy-importing and least-developed countries.

At the same time, however, one could not fail to note a certain stability shared by the developing countries, manifested in the international arena (participation in the nonaligned movement, the "Group 77," etc.), and in the identical nature of an entire series of internal processes (above all in certain laws governing changes of a structural nature in the economic and social areas). This stability proved to be more durable than may have appeared initially. It also became clear that imperialism, despite the entire variety of methods used, had not only not stopped but had intensified its general neocolonialist pressure on the liberated countries, trying simultaneously to extract profits and to convert the developing world into a kind of "slag dump" of the permanently upset economy of the "centers," as well as to accelerate the capitalist development of such countries, thus triggering within them very dangerous socioeconomic disproportions.

A while back, the search for a new approach to determining the features shared by the developing countries, taking differences among them into consideration, led to the active development by Soviet Orientalists of the multiple-structure concept of the developing society, based on the concept of "structure," which V. I. Lenin developed for the first time for Russia in the post-October period. The existence of durable traditional structures in the Orient (barter, petty-commodity), which revealed a peculiar resistance to the influence of contemporary structures (private capitalist, state) largely explained the difficulties accompanying the creation of an integral contemporary society. However, it was inevitable for those among the developing countries which had surmounted their multiplicity of structures (or had greatly advanced in surmounting them) to remain outside this concept (even if it was not a question of determining the qualitative determination of the developing countries), which limits its value, defined by the framework of the specific transitional period and the primarily Afro-Asian geographic area.

Equally important was the concept of dependent development, which Soviet international economic specialists developed as early as the 1960s. This concept accurately describes the dependent, the subordinate status of the developing countries in the world capitalist economy, which is exploiting them, and the consequent barriers erected on the path of their development. At the same time, to a certain extent, it gave priority to external factors, without revealing the independent nature of the developing world itself.

Let us point out that scientific discussions on the efforts to define the type of system in the developing countries and the rigid consequent development as well failed to provide a simple answer. Works published as early as the 1960s on the political economy of these countries raised once again, most urgently, the question of determining the nature of the real processes which were occurring in the developing world and the identification of "system-forming" leading elements within them. The works by Soviet scientists clearly promoted the idea of the transitional nature of the developing society and its historically inevitable adoption of one of the two possible ways of social development: socialism or capitalism.



The works of a galaxy of Soviet scientists enabled us to advance even further in the study of the new phenomena in the developing countries in the 1980s, as confirmed by recently published works which have drawn the attention of the Soviet and foreign scientific public.

The common feature of the works under review is, above all, the aspiration of their authors to interpret on a dialectical and comprehensive basis the phenomena under study, without limiting themselves to "local" study results but using them to refine or intensify the qualitative characterization of the developing society and its specific laws and development features. Also impressive is the scope of the studies, the tremendous volume of statistical and factual data used and the "large format" view of the developing world in its economic, social and political variety, the intertwining of the traditional with the contemporary and the conflicting interaction among cultural, ethnic and other factors.

Naturally, it would be impossible to discuss even briefly all noteworthy topics covering such a broad range of problems. Nevertheless, the basic problems raised in the monographs enable us to determine the level of our concepts on the socioeconomic transformation of the developing world and the variety and contradictoriness of its ways and prospects.

Under the conditions of national independence, the entire course of development of the liberated countries scattered once and for all the various utopian concepts of a certain "exclusivity" of the historical destinies of the developing world. The bourgeois doctrine of the "unknowable" nature of the laws governing global social developments notwithstanding, the course of events in the developing countries, with all its varieties and specifics, reveals with increasing clarity the universality of the laws of historical development discovered by Marxism-Leninism and the nature of developing relations, on a private ownership or collectivistic basis, and the ways leading to the further development of capitalism or the establishment of a socialist-oriented society. It is precisely this essence which remains firm by the fact that in the majority of countries (including those which have already defined their way of development) private ownership and collectivistic principles coexist, although, in the final account, one of those trends gains the upper hand. As was pointed out at the conference held by a number of communist and worker parties of tropical and southern Africa in 1978, "the same objective laws of social development which operate throughout the world are manifested on our continent as well as corresponding national features and historical characteristics in the countries and islands of our continent." The increased degree of socially qualitative determination of processes in the developing world is also convincingly confirmed by Soviet research data as well (see (1), pp 590-602; (4), pp 274-291; and (6), pp 54-68).

That is precisely why, on the level of historical perspective of the developing world itself, the most important concept of Marxist-Leninist theory is the conclusion of the socialist alternative to the capitalist way of development and the possibility of bypassing or drastically shortening the capitalist stage. This conclusion is based on the already acquired experience in socialist development and the socialist orientation of the developing world in all three continents.

Soviet researchers confidently concluded that the characteristics of the development of the liberated countries create at the present stage objective prerequisites for a substantial modification in the ways of historical development: the break with capitalism, even when the capitalist structures have become dominant, without, however, encompassing the entire economy and society, or at least the very profound differences with the stages in the evolution of the Western countries in the past.

In this connection, the adoption of the macroformation approach, developed for the first time by the Marxist-Leninist classics, can be fruitfully applied to the process of the evolution of developing countries. It is based on the consolidated classification of the universal historical process into three macrosystems: primary (primitive), secondary (private ownership) and superior, communist, distinguished among each other above all by the nature of social relations (see K. Marx, "Draft of an Answer to V. I. Zasulich's Letter," K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, pp 411-421; V. I. Lenin, "On the State," "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, pp 68-84).

With this approach, the developing countries "reveal" their common nature not on the basis of a strict affiliation with one of the five familiar systems but their joint affiliation with the secondary macrosystem. Therefore, the transition to a socialist orientation could be considered as progress from the second to the following, superior macroformation, proving that the historical chance offered the developing countries under contemporary conditions lies not in their migration among the individual stages of the second exploitative macroformation (however dynamic this migration may be), but of their thrust forward, beyond its class-limited framework, in accordance with Lenin's prediction to the effect that "the movement of the majority of the population on earth, initially aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism" ((3), p 9) (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 44, p 38).

The universal nature of the global historical process and the possibility of an alternative for the liberated countries do not mean in the least a kind of "flat determination" of specific events and situations. Engels himself wrote that the "economic situation does not exert its influence automatically, as some people imagine, for the sake of their own convenience, but that the people themselves create their own history" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 39, p 175).

The latest studies by Soviet scientists enable us to gain a deeper knowledge of the nature of the "underdevelopment," which is challenging the generation which is "making history" today. In the light of the acquired knowledge we realize much better why the elimination of backwardness has turned out to be incomparably more difficult than had been previously imagined. The labor-intensive yet necessary scientific analysis of the "development" of socioeconomic structures of the liberated countries in the world economic and political space surrounding them (by no means rarefied) indicated not only the potential of the socioeconomic transformation but also the complex interaction among objective and subjective and internal and external factors, frequently pulling in opposite directions, leading at different times toward the

"discoordination" of this entire process, exposing the obstacles which are greatly intensified with the development of capitalism without, however, automatically disappearing on the way to socialism, demanding unabated attention.

It is a question, in particular, not only of the economic potential or social differences among individual countries and groups of countries but of the set of basic parameters of "predisposition" for socioeconomic changes and surmounting backwardness. Very interesting in this connection is the combination of a number of summing-up criteria, which enable us to conceive of the developing countries as a definite, although greatly varied, historical essence, without adopting a one-sided approach (see (6), pp 7-27). Equally noteworthy is the typology of the developing countries, based on several criteria, enabling us to judge both the nature of their participation in the global economy and the level of modernization of their economy and transformation from archaic social structures they have reached (see (1), pp 43-87). Characteristically, the problem of the socioeconomic transformation of the developing countries is considered in the light of the complex interaction between the "external environment" and the national organism, as well as the increasingly significant internal factors governing this organism and its own development impulses.

The science of geography has also become actively involved in the study of the problems of developing countries. In the postwar decades, a theoretically and practically important trend of geographic research developed in the USSR: economic and social geography of developing countries. This science studies the natural and resource potential of such countries, the nature of its utilization in the international division of labor and the basic features of economic and population deployment. The importance of such works is determined by the fact alone that they are an organic part of the common front of comprehensive interdisciplinary studies of areas and individual countries within a given group; their expansion and advancement is a major task in Marxist social science studies. The interweaving and interconnection among socioeconomic, ethnosocial, ethnocultural and natural historical processes are one of the outstanding features of the unique characteristics of developing countries.

In addition to numerous studies of Asian, African and Latin American countries, the Soviet geographers have created general studies which contain a typological analysis of the territorial organization of society in the developing world ("Razvivayushchiyesya Strany. Osnovnyye Problemy Ekonomicheskoy i Sotsial'noy Geografii" [The Developing Countries. Basic Problems of Economic and Social Geography]. M. B. Gornung, Ya. G. Mashbits and V. A. Pulyarkin responsible editors. Mysl', Moscow, 1983, 292 pp; "Razvivayushchiyesya Strany. Priroda i Chelovek" [The Developing Countries. Nature and Man]. V. A. Pulyarkin responsible editor. Mysl', Moscow, 1982, 239 pp).

These works convincingly prove that the national interests of the developing countries necessarily and, sometimes, even primarily call for changes in the existing deployment of their production forces. The capitalist monopoly centers shaped and misshaped this geography in their own interests, dooming



extensive territories to stagnation and even regress. Soviet scientists are aware of and thoroughly expose the difficulties accompanying the development of a new deployment of production forces. This is no accident, for among all economic structures within a single socioeconomic system (social, sectorial, managerial, etc.), it is precisely the territorial structure which took decades and even centuries to appear and is the most durable and conservative. The study of the spatial aspects of the socioeconomic reality of developing countries becomes even more topical now, for this aspect of the matter has been, as a rule, insufficiently or only schematically described in socioeconomic and ethnocultural works.

The geographic studies of developing countries also indicate the particular, one could say the vital, significance of their resource-ecological problems. Their specifics are determined not only by the complex and vulnerable natural characteristics and mechanisms but also the nature of the utilization of their territories and their resources under the conditions of still-remaining high population growth rates and the use of new technologies which are frequently not adapted to the specific conditions of developing countries.

Unquestionably, the collapse of colonialism meant, to begin with, the advent of a new age in the developing general crisis of capitalism, a new major change in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism and the national liberation movement, and the transformation of the liberated countries from objects to subjects of international relations and universal history.

However, the political autonomy which was gained as a result of liberation from colonial and semicolonial dependency did not rescue the developing countries from their economic dependency. Their possibility of establishing economically equitable relations with the developed capitalist states conflict with imperialist diktat under the conditions of the changed ratio of forces in the world should be understood precisely as a potential, the realization of which takes place through the stubborn clearing of the "dumps" of such economic backwardness and neocolonial exploitation.

The case of surmounting backwardness within national frameworks is in a similar situation. This process is not automatically extended from the "higher" to the "lower" structure and from the contemporary to the traditional sector. They require a national strategy aimed at developing a unified national economic complex by surmounting gaps within the internal socioeconomic structure and the modernizing of lagging economic sectors.

However, both on the external and internal levels, the developing countries face a number of disintegration processes inherited from colonialism, which frequently hold together by force the greatly disparate socioeconomic, ethnic, religious and other communities. The task of creating a unified political and socioeconomic contemporary mechanism, therefore, faces a number of essential and interrelated objective barriers. Externally, by virtue of their special position in the global capitalist economy, the developing countries face the trend of "separation" of some of their economy from the main nucleus and its inclusion as a link in the reproduction process of the developed capitalist countries. Under colonialism such inclusion was free from any serious



obstructions, for it served the accelerated development of the mother country at the expense of rubber, tin, copper and other "outcrops" in the conquered areas, preserving in a state of stagnation the huge "hinterland" of the colonies.

Today a similar process may cover a broader range of sectors. However, given the lack of adequately substantive counter-trends, this not only means the further economic disintegration of the young states but also contributes to the establishment of a new and very firm type of dependency on a higher level of development of production forces.

The sociopolitical threat which said trend presents to the young states is extremely great. The economic "separation" of part of the economy leads to the accelerated and intensified alienation of a privileged local stratum involved in this process from the interests of national development and its transformation into a spokesman for the interests of the foreign reproduction mechanism.

Furthermore, the drawing on outside resources for the purpose of modernizing the social and economic life of developing countries is also fraught with the danger of increasing their dependence on capital provided by the developed capitalist countries. Such capital is granted a broader field of activities and the possibility to exploit not only agrarian and raw material enclaves, as was the case in the past, but the entire increasingly complex area of material production and services. The more refined means of exploitation applied by international capital entirely confirm Marx's words that "...once again the method of plunder is determined by the production method. For example, a stock-jobbing nation (a nation with a developed stock market--the editor) cannot be plundered with the means used to plunder a nation of nomad shepherds" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 12, p 724).

The Soviet authors convincingly prove in their works that both sides of the interaction between developed capitalist and developing countries--extracting some of the economic potential of the young countries and, conversely, introducing foreign capital--are related to the specific forms of dependency and exploitation, based on the West's increasingly extensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

It is also important to take into consideration the fact that the various areas of social life in the developing countries (economy, politics, ideology, culture, etc.) also frequently experience a more active influence from the outside than from related areas within their own national organism.

On the internal level, the discoordination of such economic processes, the deep temporal and spatial gaps between them and the "symbiotic" nature of the overall socioeconomic organization constitute tremendous obstacles (see (1), p 593). The chain along the impulses, transmitted from the economy to other areas of social life, are different in the developing countries compared to contemporary societies. Having attained one type of social structure or another, such impulses weaken, become distorted and yield results different from expected ones (see (1), p 298).

The multiple structure and the poor interaction of what is currently described as the contemporary and the traditional sectors trigger conflicting reactions to material progress among different social groups. The Soviet authors provide in their works a comprehensive assessment of a seemingly paradoxical situation according to which in a number of cases traditional systems and sociopolitical structures not only do not break down under the influence of the accelerated development of production forces but adapt quite successfully the contemporary sector to their own needs. It is precisely the acceleration of economic and technical processes, the development of which has not been prepared in the course of preceding social development, that triggers in the society the aspiration to unify not on a class basis but on the basis of traditional ethnic, religious, cultural and other characteristics. Hence the additional specific difficulties which arise in shaping a unified socioeconomic organism in the liberated countries.

The proper understanding of the real force, which can assume the implementation of social and economic renovation tasks in the developing world at the present stage, plays a most important role in the light of said phenomena. Based on the general understanding of the fact that the national state is such a force, our latest studies lead to the further interpretation of the role of the state in the liberated countries.

Thanks to the elimination of foreign economic coercion and the assertion of sovereignty of its resources, the national state has become the main link in the relationship between the national and the world economy; in domestic life it performs functions ensuring overall development conditions and control of interstructural relations.

However, the question of the role of the state in the formative development of society remains more difficult to resolve. Latest studies have indicated that this role is by no means reduced, as was generally the case in the West following the antifeudal revolutions, to eliminating from the economy precapitalist structures and preparing the grounds for the unhindered development of capitalism and the political shaping of new relations within society.

Essentially, the anticolonial and national democratic revolutions in the developing world were political acts which removed the liberated territories with their entire variety of multistructural characteristics from the "core" of developed capitalism, creating the initial prerequisites not for the self-progress of a variety of structures, accomplished not through the intermediary of external forces, within the framework of sovereign yet economically poorly coordinated territories. For that reason the role of the state in the developing world and its functions are significantly broader and more conflicting than had traditionally been the case. In its interaction with the various structures, the state may use both capitalist and noncapitalist levers and means and methods of influence. A sharp struggle for the seizure of command positions is under way around and within the state sector.

The Soviet scientists have taken an important step forward in the study of the contradictions which stem from the peculiarity of the social base of the national states in the developing countries and the different consequences of

their intervention in economic and social processes (see (4), pp 158-164; (3), pp 123-144; and (6), pp 75-82). Depending on the correlation between the nature and forces controlling the state machinery, the prerequisites for expanding or, conversely, narrowing the base for development in favor of private property classes change substantially. Thus, for example, the possibility of the state to appropriate part of the income created by society through precapitalist methods (such as by performing the functions of landowner, leasing the land, or moneylender providing credit, and so on), as well as through the taxation system, may yield different results: in some cases, with the domination of a bureaucratized elite, such means directly lead to its enrichment and the support of an increasingly inflated state machinery (which is quite frequently assisted by the blending of the "state bourgeoisie" with private capital), and pursuit of a variety of prestige projects within and outside the country and militarization; in other cases, should national democratic forces predominate, they could be used to increase the volume of accumulations and capital investments in the national economy in the broad public interest and for the sake of implementing a number of urgent and exceptional measures to improve the situation of the most deprived social groups.

The contradictory role of the state and, respectively, state ownership, also resides in the fact that, on the one hand, the processes of capitalist development exert an increasing pressure on them in favor of managing the economy on a strictly capitalist basis (by investing in profitable sectors and "removing" from them ruined population strata); on the other, the growing social disproportions and the objective need for a comprehensive development of the economy with a view to the fastest possible development of a unified reproduction mechanism lead the state to preserve and further strengthen its role as the main lever controlling and coordinating public production. In turn, this contributes to the preservation and strengthening of prerequisites for a break with the capitalist development process and a turn to a socialist orientation in some countries or to a modified capitalist development in others.

The contradictoriness of processes occurring in countries belonging to the former colonial "periphery" has also been reflected in the objective results of their development in recent decades. The thesis of the increased role of such countries in the world economy is confirmed by the fact that a number of important macroeconomic indicators in these countries were higher than in the developed capitalist countries. A durable trend toward upgrading the role of the developing countries in supplying the world capitalist economy with specific types of extracted raw materials, petroleum above all, developed (see (1), pp 17, 20). Gradually, the developing countries are converting from an agrarian outlying area into an industrialized part of the world. Their population engaged in industry increased from 68 million in 1960 to 147 million by the end of the 1970s and their share increased from 13 to 20 percent of total employment. It is indicative that this trend is characteristic of all three continents--Africa (from 9 to 14 percent), Asia (from 13 to 20) and Latin America (from 20 to 27).

On the other hand, by virtue of the influence of the foreign and domestic factors we noted, the negative socioeconomic aspects of the developing countries worsened substantially.

The facts prove that despite individual successes, as a whole the developing countries remain the target of predatory exploitation by monopoly capital, its assault group in particular--the multinational corporations headed by U.S. capital. The gap in the per capita income between the predominant majority of developing and developed capitalist countries has widened even further. The relatively high growth rates of a number of countries (the so-called "newly industrializing countries" above all) have turned into an extremely severe technological and financial dependency on the main capitalist centers. At the beginning of 1984, the foreign debt of the developing countries had exceeded \$800 billion; dependent on Western technological processes, they are paying an ever-increasing price for their utilization, running into many billions of dollars.

Industrialization in the developing countries is accompanied by mass and truly gigantic unemployment, full or partial. Its present scale exceeds 500 million people or approximately one-half of the entire economically active population (see Fidel Castro, "Ekonomicheskiy i Sotsial'nyy Krizis Mira" [The World's Economic and Social Crisis]. Moscow, 1983, p 216). The gap between the income of the lower and higher population strata is widening: the upper 10 percent account for one-third to one-half of the total income, whereas the per capita income of 800 million people (1980 data) did not exceed \$150 per annum (ibid., p 199).

Bearing this in mind, let us go back to the question of the developing countries as subjects in world economics and politics. The prerequisites for the increased role of the liberated countries in world affairs are objective: imperialism cannot throw the developing world back to its former positions without an inevitable clash with the basic trends of contemporary social developments.

Having rejected the yoke of colonialism and relying on the internationalist and anti-imperialist position held by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community and on economic and political cooperation with one another, and using the contradictions among developed capitalist countries, the national states have been able to alleviate to a certain extent and even to eliminate the worst disparities between their own potential and imperialism's efforts to oppose its realization. They have assumed their position in resolving international political problems as equal and sovereign members of the world community. They have increased their share in the world's economy and are struggling for a restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

At the same time, however, another aspect of such processes should not be ignored. The developing countries achieved their main successes as a result of the fact that the national state set itself a number of national and anticolonial tasks the implementation of which was consistent with the interests of all basic motive forces of the national liberation movement and ensured unity of action in the international arena. As the process of



independent development advanced, the trends of the shaping of and separation among classes, with their inherent specific interests and objectives, are increasingly affecting the behavior of the developing countries in world economics and politics.

Although the solution of anti-imperialist problems is still a matter for the distant future, the approach to their solution by the different groups in the developing countries is manifesting increasingly obvious differences. Unwilling to engage in internal social changes in the interest of the broad popular masses, the ruling circles of a number of countries are pursuing a foreign policy aimed at giving a different content to the struggle waged by the liberated countries against imperialism and against one of its centers or another. Instead of pursuing a line of consistent democratization of international political and economic relations, they merely try to make maximal use of external levers to stabilize and consolidate their own positions within their countries and in the international arena. For that reason, their "demands" of the West, while externally remaining within the framework of the general concepts of increasing the contribution of resources to developing countries through various channels (trade, credits, loans, transfer of technology, etc.), are weakening the essential foundation of the anti-imperialist positions held by such countries in their struggle against monopoly exploitation and diktat in international relations.

Yet the further strengthening of the role played by the liberated countries in world economics and politics and their establishment as independent subjects of international relations could be achieved as a whole only through the systematic democratization of internal socioeconomic structures and "providing that unity is maintained between the basic objectives and actions of world socialism and the national liberation movement" ("Razvivayushchiyesya Strany v Sovremennom Mire: Novaya Sila v Mirovoy Politike i Ekonomike" [The Developing Countries in the Contemporary World: A New Force in World Politics and Economics]. I. D. Ivanov responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 229 pp).

In order for the developing countries to be able to put up a real opposition to the increased exploitation of monopoly capital with demands for the implementation of a program for a new international economic order, they must mandatorily be backed by a progressive social policy within their own borders, pursued in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Only in such a case would they be able systematically to wage a successful struggle for the elimination of unequal relations in global economic ties in the interest of the entire community of developing countries.

That is why the trend noted in a number of recent works ((1), (3)) toward the creation of an independent reproduction mechanism in the developing countries can successfully continue its progressive momentum only by achieving an organic unity between economic growth and social progress. In this case, the proper and full consideration not only of socioeconomic but sociocultural, religious, ethnic and other factors assumes a special role, factors which enjoy considerable autonomy at the present development stage in terms of basic social processes. An important role is also played by the factors rooted in the various types of civilizations within which the individual society is developed (see (1), pp 510-530). As a whole, for the foreseeable period the

problems facing the developing countries must be resolved according to the social development model--a capitalist or a socialist orientation.

The latest studies by Soviet authors illuminate the problem of development of capitalist relations in the developing countries profoundly and comprehensively. In particular, they determined that a certain underestimating of the level and scale of development of such relations on a national basis and the growth of capitalism "from below" had taken place ((1), (7)).

The latest works by Soviet scientists make a thorough study of the historical destinies of the developing countries following the capitalist way, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist concepts of the development of capitalism in backward countries. The liberal-bourgeois concept of "catching-up development," which depicts the future of the developing countries as that of "equal partners" of the West, virtually indistinct from the developed capitalist countries, has been convincingly criticized. At the same time, however, these works ((1), (6)) prove that there is no kind of hermetically sealed wall which would exclude the conversion of individual developing countries into developed capitalist states. However, as history proves, this opportunity is available only to individual countries possessing specific favorable factors, and only as a result of most violent competition, the worsened situation of many other countries and the worsening of social problems.

According to the bourgeois ideologues, the only possibility open to the developing countries is to accelerate the development of capitalist relations within their national framework. However, as the works of the Soviet scientists convincingly prove, at the present stage of the general crisis of capitalism, both as a structure and a social system, its former ability to modernize precapitalist socioeconomic structures has assumed increasingly antipeople's distorted features, which aggravate and create new antagonisms ((2), (5)). Lenin's words on the mechanism of social progress under capitalism are more applicable here than anywhere else: "Like any other progress under capitalism, this progress is accompanied also by a 'progress' of contradictions, i.e., by their aggravation and expansion" (op. cit., vol 2, p 180).

There have been significant differences in the levels reached by capitalism in the developing countries. Its scale, as indicated in the Soviet works, ranges from the initial stages of capitalist development in most African countries to the developing specific forms of monopoly capitalism in individual Latin American countries. At the same time, the features of capitalist development in the developing countries are such that the "cost" for the development of contemporary production forces involves tremendous sacrifices in all areas of social life and a drastic imbalance in basic socioeconomic proportions. Since the basic objective of capitalism is profit rather than the comprehensive development of the economy, the direct producer is exploited with all methods accessible to capitalism--capitalist as well as precapitalist. In turn, this preserves the firm symbiosis between traditional and contemporary structures, for exploitation relations are steadily reproduced within them. In this case

local private capital is significantly more "attached" to precapitalist means and methods of exploitation compared to its former European predecessor.

However, linked with the multinational corporations, together with the latter they exploit the working people of town and country, reducing the struggle against the multinationals essentially to the question of distribution and redistribution of already created values. As it strengthens its positions, the national bourgeoisie is increasingly displaying a tendency to switch the struggle against monopolies within the framework of a broad front of anti-imperialist forces to relations of rivalry (and cooperation) on a narrow class basis. This approach may bring some successes to the national bourgeoisie in the struggle for "its own" share of the product created in the developing countries. Such successes, however, are invariably paid for by increasing the exploitation of the toiling masses, the growth of social disproportions and the aggravation of class contradictions. The acutely uneven and spasmodic dynamics of the production process in the course of capitalist development is paralleled by the tempestuous growth of social problems and people's deprivations. The contemporary sector cannot "assimilate" the huge rural mass of the unemployed and the hungry, caused by the effect of the general law of capitalist accumulation under the conditions of economic backwardness and demographic explosion. We consider, therefore, comprehensively substantiated the conclusion that "the comprehensive development of a broad range of sectors of material and spiritual production...cannot be ensured on a private capitalist basis" ((3), p 210).

This directly leads to another conclusion of essential importance, drawn by Soviet researchers, on preserving in the developing world objective conditions for a break with the capitalist system and capitalist development. The thorough and scrupulous study of the legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics has made it possible to prove most convincingly that the founders of the communist doctrine, who ascribed tremendous importance to problems of the development of the colonial periphery "bypassing capitalism," had formulated a profound basic concept. As Marx and Engels pointed out, changes in the overall ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism would enable countries with primarily precapitalist production methods significantly to shorten or even to bypass the capitalist stage of development on their way to socialism, with the material and spiritual support of countries of victorious socialism, and the collectivistic principles preserved within their social system, related above all to communal ownership (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 22, pp 444-446). Lenin's creative development of the Marxist concept of noncapitalist development revealed the possibility of converting to socialism while bypassing capitalism under conditions in which the socialist revolution has won initially in a single country. This was a daring conclusion which "horrified" the Marxist dogmatists, who had literally interpreted the thesis of the universal significance of the victory of the revolution in the West. Socialism, which won in the USSR and, subsequently, in several other countries, constituted the real force which could help the backward nations to achieve success in their noncapitalist development and which "raised the question of the fate of peoples oppressed by imperialism not only on the theoretical but the practical level as well, as one of the most important aspects of the global revolutionary process, inseparably related to the future and destinies of socialism throughout the world" ((4), p 19).



Naturally, the path leading to the socialist transformation of the social structures of former colonial and semicolonial countries, inevitably complex and lengthy, would have been immeasurably facilitated had socialism won in the majority of developed countries. Naturally, however, it is only the enemies of social progress, referring to such difficulties, who could consider that the young countries are in general incapable of adopting a socialist orientation.

The thesis substantiated in the documents of the CPSU and the international communist movement to the effect that the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the peoples in the developing world will also turn against the capitalist order, finds a brilliant confirmation in the making of the socialist revolutions in a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The study of the experience in state construction and the real processes in socialist oriented countries has enabled the Soviet scientists to write a new page in the theory of noncapitalist development: specific laws governing the transitional form of development to socialism were identified and so were the internal and external conditions enabling the developing countries to take the path of a socialist orientation and to define the methods for surmounting socioeconomic backwardness and ensuring the role of the young noncapitalist countries in international life ((3), (4), (5)).

The works prove that a socialist path can be entered by countries most different in terms of the level of their socioeconomic development. This refutes the bourgeois propaganda myth that this path is "suitable" only to the poorest and most backward countries. The key to understanding the conversion to a noncapitalist way by one specific country or another is provided only by the study of the sum total of its objective and subjective conditions (see (4), pp 41-67).

In this case, the concept of the comprehensive nature of the criteria for a socialist orientation, formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, is of fundamental significance. Thanks to the further development by the Soviet scientists of the nature of such criteria in the economic, social, political and ideological areas, the inner mechanism of the progress toward a new society, characterized by the gradual, step-by-step implementation of changes, has been identified. Based on Lenin's concepts of the transitional period, the Soviet researchers developed, in terms of countries with a socialist orientation, the problems of the utilization of capitalist relations in the creation of the material prerequisites for a direct socialist construction, for gradual changes in the social structure of the society, for the increased maturity and weight of the working class and the need to strengthen the alliance with the socialist countries and to achieve an ideological evolution in the country's leadership from a revolutionary-democratic ideology to scientific socialism (see (4), p 89). A new step has been taken in an understudied area such as the dynamics of socioclass structures in countries with a socialist orientation and, particularly, the composition and structure of the youngest working class--the African proletariat (see (5), pp 87-94).



The study of the objective and subjective contradictions inherent in the transitional period, the nature of which is both basic and superstructural, is particularly important in understanding the reason for successes and failures on the way to a socialist orientation. Actually, with a relatively low level of development of production forces and dependence on the world capitalist economy, the inevitably extended processes of spontaneous development of private ownership elements requires an extremely carefully weighed and realistic approach to achieving set targets. Specific examples are cited proving the danger of the loss of revolutionary perspective and anticipation in making social changes.

Experience in socioeconomic construction in countries with a socialist orientation has shown that one of the most important prerequisites for success is the combination between ideological and political maturity of party and state leadership and the policy of consistent democratization of all social life and granting the working people, represented by their mass organizations, the broadest possible opportunities for participation in the administration of the state (see (4), pp 94-96; (2), pp 201-203).

Furthermore, historical practice has proved that alongside such internal factors of decisive importance, success in noncapitalist development is totally impossible without the strongest possible alliance with the countries of victorious socialism. We must bear in mind, yet once again, that this does not mean in the least underestimating internal development factors. It is precisely the experience of some countries in which the socialist orientation was not consolidated, that "cautions against absolutizing the role of external factors and proves once again that, in the final account, achieving a socialist future in the liberated countries is determined by internal conditions" (L. M. Kapitsa. "Vozdeystviye Dvukh Miroykh Sistem na Osvobodivshiesya Strany" [Influence of the Two World Systems on the Liberated Countries]. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1982, p 160).

The problems of the strategy and tactics of the transition to socialism and the consistency and interconnection among the changes under way will continue to play a decisive role in the activities of the revolutionary leadership of countries with a socialist orientation. In this connection, the scientific elaboration of the problem of the force capable of leading the advance along a noncapitalist way in countries in which there still is no sufficiently powerful working class is extremely timely. We consider accurate the conclusion that under such circumstances this role is assumed by the revolutionary democracy, the motive forces of which are the "politically awakened strata of the peasant masses, the petite urban bourgeoisie and the radical nationalistic intelligentsia, which support the positions of the anti-imperialist, antifeudal and anticapitalist struggle" ((4), pp 104-105). Naturally, the social heterogeneity of the revolutionary democracy leads to the development of various trends, including an evolution toward scientific socialism as well as a movement toward the political self-assertion of the bourgeoisie, which increases in a number of cases as a result of contacts with specific units within the state and party apparatus. Therefore, the founding of parties of a new vanguard type, which adopt scientific socialism as their theoretical foundation, and which strengthen the alliance with the Marxist-pa

Leninist parties of socialist and other countries, is a process of tremendous importance in advancing on the path of socialist orientation.

The review of a number of the most significant studies conducted by Soviet scientists and published in recent years reveals the complex and still quite incomplete picture of the developing world in which hundreds of millions of people of the former colonies and semicolonies are now involved in the global revolutionary process and are trying to find ways leading to the reorganization of society, which would put an end to inequality and exploitation. Further scientific research will unquestionably help to determine even more accurately the nature of the processes occurring within the liberated countries and the inner logic of the dynamics of developing economic and socioclass structures. Studies conducted in recent years convincingly prove that, as a whole, the developing countries are more interested than ever in operating under favorable international conditions in order to resolve numerous urgent socioeconomic problems. Therefore, the active continuation of the struggle against imperialism and neocolonial exploitation remains the main prerequisite for achieving real successes in the socioeconomic reorganization of society in the two huge areas of the former colonial possessions.

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#### SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 24 Dec 84) pp 125-127

[Text] S. A. Andronov. "Boyevoye Oruzhiye Partii" [The Party's Combat Weapon]. PRAVDA from 1912 to 1917. Lenizdat, Leningrad, 1984, 423 pp. Reviewed by Dr of Historical Sciences G. Petryakov.

This new book is a study of the combat road of the newspaper PRAVDA, organ of the party's Central Committee, during the prerevolutionary period. It is as though its activities at that time (1912-1917) concentrate within themselves the richest possible experience of the Bolshevik Party in training the fighters of the political army for the socialist revolution and the participants in the direct struggle for establishing a proletarian dictatorship. The CPSU Central Committee's congratulations to PRAVDA on the occasion of its 70th anniversary, noted that "the entire glorious path covered by PRAVDA is inseparably related to our party's heroic history. From its very first issue, the paper acted as the collective propagandist, agitator and organizer of the masses. It has consistently expressed the interests and will of the working class and all working people and their revolutionary trends."

Supported by extensive factual data and documents and memoirs of party veterans, the author proves that the creation of the bolshevik newspaper was consistent with the objective requirements of the labor movement in Russia. The successful work done by PRAVDA and the other party publications could be explained to a decisive extent by the fact that all of their activities were guided by V. I. Lenin and the party's Central Committee. PRAVDA published more than 280 works by Lenin between 1912 and 1914 alone.

The sections in the book which describe the holding of the first Worker Press Day, timed for the second PRAVDA anniversary (see pp 48-53) is of interest. On Lenin's initiative, the party's Central Committee prepared on this occasion a pamphlet on the history of the worker press in Russia, the first chapter of which--"From the Past of the Russian Worker Press" and the concluding chapter "Our Tasks"--were written by Vladimir Il'ich. Lenin's articles are legitimately considered the first historiographic outline on the bolshevik press. They provide a scientific analysis of the ideological distinction among the different social democratic trends and their press. Lenin's

conclusion to the effect that "it is only by studying the history of the struggle between Marxism and opportunism and only by becoming thoroughly familiar with the development of an autonomous proletarian democracy, separated from the petit bourgeois, that the progressive workers will be able definitively to strengthen their consciousness and their worker press" is of great methodological significance ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 25, p 101]).

Under Lenin's leadership the revolutionary PRAVDA school raised a brilliant galaxy of noted party leaders and talented party journalists. At different times, editors and active contributors to the pre-October PRAVDA included A. S. Bubnov, K. S. Yeremeyev, M. I. Kalinin, A. M. Kollontay, N. V. Krylenko, V. M. Molotov, V. I. Nevskiy, M. S. Ol'minskiy, G. I. Petrovskiy, Ya. M. Sverdlov, N. A. Skrypnik, J. V. Stalin, M. I. Ul'yanova, S. G. Shaumyan and many other noted bolsheviks. It would be no exaggeration to say that the best party forces actively contributed to PRAVDA. The book justifiably emphasizes the tremendous role of PRAVDA and the entire party press in the struggle for preparations for a socialist revolution. Characteristically, for example, Lenin, who was informed of the February bourgeois democratic revolution while abroad, wrote to the Russian Central Committee Bureau: "The main thing now is the press, the organization of the workers into a revolutionary social democratic party" (op. cit., vol 49, p 400). In the telegram with which he notified his return to the homeland, he asked that PRAVDA be informed of the fact (see p 275). Once in Petrograd, Lenin immediately assumed leadership of the newspaper. PRAVDA and the other bolshevik press organs (in October 1917 75 bolshevik newspapers and journals were being published in Russia) persistently disseminated Lenin's ideas of the development of the revolution, exposed the treachery of the conciliationists and helped to rally the revolutionary forces under the party's leadership.

In its 25 October 1917 issue, the newspaper RABOCHIY I SOLDAT (one of PRAVDA's successors, published during a period when the bolshevik newspaper was being harassed by the Provisional Government) published Lenin's historical appeal "To the Citizens of Russia," in which he reported on the victory of the socialist revolution. In subsequent issues PRAVDA, which had resumed publications under its old name, printed Lenin's decrees on peace and land and his speeches at the Second Congress of Soviets. The readers learned from PRAVDA and the other bolshevik press organs of the victorious steps taken by the young Soviet state and the first revolutionary measures taken by the Soviet system. "In subsequent years," the author says, "PRAVDA successfully developed and multiplied the great Leninist traditions of the bolshevik press, including the very rich experience acquired by PRAVDA during the periods of the new revolutionary upsurge and the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution" (p 420).

The readers will find in the book a great deal of interesting data on PRAVDA's comprehensive activities at one of the important stages in CPSU history, describing the instructive experience gained by bolshevik journalism. Naturally, the author does not lay a claim to providing an exhaustive coverage of all discussed problems. Nevertheless, some omissions could have been avoided. Thus, in our view, problems of the party's guidance of PRAVDA and a presentation of its systematic and regular nature deserved more specific



coverage. The author mentions two or three party documents relative to PRAVDA's work. Yet the various aspects of PRAVDA activities during that time were thoroughly considered, under Lenin's guidance, at all partywide conferences and party Central Committee sessions. Unquestionably, a more extensive discussion of this topic would have been helped by the rich factual data on the activities of the PRAVDA press contained in essays on the history of local party organizations (more than 100 such essays have already come out).

Nevertheless, let us emphasize the unquestionable usefulness of the study of the extremely rich experience gained by Lenin's PRAVDA and by party journalism, described in the book under review. The 26th Congress called upon the press workers "always to display a high social activeness and responsibility, guided by the Leninist principles and traditions of party journalism." The need to continue and creatively to enrich the great traditions of bolshevik propaganda was recalled, as we know, at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The study of the experience and combat traditions of Lenin's PRAVDA press and their creative application under contemporary conditions are called upon to contribute to the solution of such responsible problems.

"Noveyshaya Istoriya V'yetnama" [Vietnam's Most Recent History]. Nauka, Chief Editorial Board for Oriental Literature, Moscow, 1984, 424 pp. Reviewed by Candidate of Historical Sciences P. Tsvetov.

Vietnam.... This word became part of postwar world history as a synonym of courage and inflexible firmness, a symbol of the invincibility of a people defending its independence and national sovereignty and proof of the vital force of Marxism-Leninism in Southeast Asian countries as well. The experience of the struggle and construction gained by the Vietnamese people draw the attention of all those who fight for freedom and socialism. Vietnam's heroic resistance to American imperialist aggression continues to give confidence to the fighters for national and social liberation. The 1969 International Conference of Communist and Worker Parties emphasized that "the successes of the heroic Vietnamese people convincingly prove that today it is becoming increasingly possible for the peoples, who are decisively defending with all possible means their independence, sovereignty and freedom and who enjoy extensive international support, to defeat imperialist aggression."

A generalized description of the experience of the struggle and constructive activities of the Vietnamese people is considered by the Soviet scientists in the recently published monograph under review. This work is the chronological extension of "Istoriya V'yetnama v Noveysheye Vremya (1917-1965 Gg.)" [Latest History of Vietnam (1917-1965)], which came out in 1970, covering the period from 1965 to 1980, i.e., a segment of that country's history most highly saturated with dramatic and heroic events. Here are a few of the events described in the book with scientific accuracy: "The Tonkin Gulf Incident," the American aggression against the DRV, the offensive mounted by the patriotic forces in South Vietnam in the spring of 1968, the quadripartite Vietnam talks, the conclusion of the Paris Agreement, the Ho Chi Minh operation on the overthrow of the Saigon regime in the spring of 1975, the

reunification of the south with the north and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the conclusion of the treaty of peace and cooperation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Beijing's aggression and the 4th Communist Party of Vietnam Congress.

The monograph is focused on the activities of the Vietnamese communists. They clearly demonstrated the willpower and collective thinking of the party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, flexibly mastering military, political and diplomatic means of struggle against the aggressors and patiently working on making socialist changes in a previously backward society, which had not experienced a capitalist development stage, at each sharp historical turn. Their experience in the reunification of the country, the use of the tactic of the united front and cultural construction is important to the entire global revolutionary movement.

During all the stages of their heroic struggle and peaceful constructive activities, the people of Vietnam felt the power of international solidarity and the effective fraternal aid and firm political and moral support of the members of the socialist commonwealth, the international communist and worker movements and the progressive forces the world over. The authors clearly prove that the victory of Vietnam over American imperialism and its allies and the internal counterrevolution was, essentially, a specific manifestation of the sharp confrontation between the forces of imperialism and socialism.

This monograph, added to the 1970 book we mentioned, is the first systematized presentation of Vietnam's latest history in the Soviet Union. Based on research conducted in previous years and interpreting the latest data (the factual presentation of events in the book takes us to the middle of 1982), the Soviet historians have covered a broad range of problems of the country's political, economic and social life. Great attention has been paid to foreign policy problems. The work also contains extensive data on contemporary Vietnamese culture, which enables us to assess the development of each one of its areas: literature, theater, graphic arts, and motion pictures. Each chapter in the book develops a major topic, frequently of major theoretical significance (such as "Nature and Development of Socialist Democracy in the SRV").

This new book by Soviet historians will unquestionably contribute to a better understanding of Vietnam by the Soviet people and the further strengthening of Soviet-Vietnamese friendship.

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